FBIS DAILY REPORT

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EXPERT INVESTIGATION OF EXPLOSIONS AT SFRY EMBASSY

AU242044 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 24 May 81

[Text] According to ATA, two explosions occurred at 2117 on 23 May 1981 on the terrace of an SFRY Embassy building annex in Tirana. They did not cause any damage to life or property. At the request of the embassy, the director of the Protocol Branch of the Foreign Ministry of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and a group of experts went to its offices immediately to investigate the case. A group of experts made its first observations during the evening of 23 May, continuing on 24 May 1981 because of nightfall. This morning at 0830, Branko Komatina, SFRY ambassador, went to the Foreign Ministry of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to protest the incident and demand that a rapid survey be made and that the Yugoslav side be given necessary explanations. Reiz Malile, deputy minister of foreign affairs, rejected this protest, considering it unacceptable, especially because the group of experts had not concluded its observations. However, a similar hasty protest, which was totally unjustified and delivered without waiting for the conclusions of the group of experts, was also made this morning to Sokrat Plaka, Albanian ambassador in Belgrade, by Milos Melovski, assistant federal secretary for foreign affairs. Today at 1930, after the experts had concluded their observations, Deputy Foreign Minister Reiz Malile summoned Yugoslav Ambassador Branko Komatina and, according to the request made by the ambassador himself, presented him with the final report of the group of experts which stated:

The group of experts summoned on 23 and 24 May by the SFRY Embassy, in the presence of the director of the Protocol Branch of the Foreign Ministry; Branko Komatina, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the SFRY to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania; (Spaso Tunic), councillor of the Yugoslav Embassy; along with other diplomatic personnel of that embassy made inquiries and an expert investigation at the scene of the incident. From the above-mentioned inquiry and investigation and from the evidence found at the sight of the incident, the group of experts established:

On 23 May 1981 at 2117 on the terrace, which is part of an annex of the SFRY Embassy building, two explosions occurred which did not cause any damage to life or property; however, on the surface of (?the asphalt) which covers the terrace two holes were found, one 14 cm long, 7 cm wide and 1 cm deep and another 5 cm long, 4 cm wide and 1 cm deep. There was no damage on the other surface of the terrace and its surrounding wall. As a result of the concussion caused by the explosion above, there was damage in two places within the kitchen. These happened to the ceiling: one was 42 cm long, 40 cm wide and 7 cm long and the other 7 cm long, 5 cm wide and 1 cm long. There was no damage to the window glass or other parts of the walls or ceiling of the kitchen, but 5 pieces of broken window glass were found in the second floor rooms of the embassy building which faces the kitchen. According to the evidence found and discussed at the site of the incident the group of experts reached the following conclusions:

1. Both explosions which occurred on 23 May 1981 at 2117 on the terrace of the kitchen which is an annex of the SFRY Embassy building were the result of two separate charges of 70 to 100 grams each of explosive materials and not of 2 bombs.

2. The explosions occurred within an interval of 2 to 3 seconds.

3. The closest point from the embassy's surrounding wall to where the explosion occurred on the terrace--but a point where one could not see the site of the explosion--is 14 meters. However, there is a distance of 22 meters from the closest point where one could have seen the site of the explosion. The surrounding wall is 2.5 meters high.

4. Both devices exploded within an interval of 2 to 3 seconds and only 1 meter apart; considering that the terrance of the kitchen is 22 meters away from the closest point from where one could see the site of the incident from behind the surrounding wall, the explosions could not have occurred with such precision simply by being thrown by hand from outside. The above conclusion is also supported by testimony given by the embassy security staff and inhabitants living near the embassy who, at the time of the incident, did not witness such acts being carried out from outside.

5. All this results in the conclusion that the explosive devices had not been placed or thrown from outside the surrounding wall of the SFRY Embassy's compound, but had been placed by hand at the site of the incident; considering that the embassy is continuously guarded by public order guards outside the surrounding wall, the possibility of people from outside entering, the embassy to set the explosive devices where the incident occured is excluded.

On the basis of the experts' conclusions, Reiz Malile rejected once again the protests of the Yugoslav side as unjustified and baseless. This, Reiz Malile declared, is a continuation of false accusations and tricks made by various Yugoslav bodies against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in connection with the recent events in Kosovo for which, as we have emphasized and has been verified, our country has no responsibility.

On the other hand, Deputy Minister Reiz Malile assured the Yugoslav ambassador that all necessary measures will be taken by the competent Albanian authorities, as in the past, for the protection and security of normal activity by Yugoslav diplomatic representatives and their staff. At the same time he pointed out once again the Albanian Government's known view about developing relations between both countries on the basis of good-neighborly policy. In connection with the explosion which occurred on the terrace of the Yugoslav Embassy's kitchen, TANJUG delivered a tendentious report this morning which twisted facts and whose aim was to discredit the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. This can be seen in the first phrase of the report which states: The bombs fell on the embassy terrace. Contrary to TANJUG, as the investigation has verified and as the Yugoslav ambassador notified the Foreign Ministry of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the explosions occurred on the kitchen terrace which is an annex of the embassy building. Likewise, according to the facts found by the group of experts, the explosions were not caused by bombs but by explosive devices, and the possibility of them being thrown from outside the surrounding walls has also been excluded.

Never, not even when relations between both countries were strained, have such activities been carried out against the Yugoslav Embassy or its personnel, for which TANJUG attempts to make Socialist Albania responsible. TANJUG states that the explosions occurred on the eve of festivities for Yugoslav Youth Day, but does not state that they also occurred on the eve of the 24 May festivities for the Permet Congress which laid the foundations for the new democratic people's state in Albania. The noise created by TANJUG about this event is a part and a continuation of the campaign now being carried out in Yugoslavia against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in connection with events in Kosovo. TANJUG echoes those official circles in Yugoslavia who are interested in fanning up this anti-Albanian campaign and in undermining the normal development of good-neighborly relations between both countries.

RADIO CITES ITALIAN REPORT ON KOSOVO UNEMPLOYMENT

AU221621 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1230 GMT 22 May 81

[Text] The number of people registered as unemployed in Yugoslavia is 700,000, the Italian newspaper CORRIERE DELLA SERA wrote at the beginning of this month. The wound is particularly bad in the country's poorer and more backward regions. Thus, for example, in Kosovo only 1 person out 10 is employed. The level of unemployment in Kosovo is 20 times higher than in Slovenia and 2.5 times higher than in Serbia.

TURKISH AIRPLANE HIJACKING EVENTS REPORTED

Landing in Burgas

AU241327 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 24 May 81

[Text] In the morning of 24 May a DC-9 airplane of the Turkish Airways, flight 104 en-route from Constantinople to Ankara, landed at the Burgas Airport. The airplane had been diverted from its regular flight by four hijackers. Some 120 passengers and a crew of five are on board the airplane. Competent Bulgarian organs are making urgent efforts to favorably solve the incident. The four armed hijackers have released eight women, five children and six men, who are now being treated by the airport's medical staff. Contact with the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been established, and the arrival of its higher representatives is expected. The Turkish general consul in Burgas is also at the airport.

According to our reporter in Burgas, identity of the hijackers as well as their demands are not known yet.

Turkish Officials' Arrival

AU241549 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1530 GMT 24 May 81

[Text] Here is a new report on the hijacked Turkish airplane, which landed at Burgas Airport. Responsible officials from the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as officials from other departments led by Kamuran Gurun, secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, have arrived in Burgas. Negotiations have begun with a representative of the hijackers. Burgas' medical personnel so far have treated 24 Turkish citizens. The competent Bulgarian organs are making strenuous efforts to favorably solve the incident.

Hijackers' Demands

AU241802 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1745 GMT 24 May 81

[Text] BTA reports on the developments around the hijacked Turkish airplane, which has landed in Burgas. In a conversation with passengers which have been released by the hostages, BTA correspondent Lyubomir Gabrovski has learned that the hijackers have demanded the release of 47 of their followers from Turkish prisons. They have also demanded $500,000. These conditions are to be published. If these conditions are not met by 0200 on 25 May the hostages will kill five U.S. citizens, employees of the Citibank in Constantinople, who are on board the airplane. If after this the demands are still not met, the hostages will detonate the airplane at 1000 on 25 May, with all the passengers and themselves on board.

In the meantime a Turkish delegation led by Kamuran Gurun, general secretary of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has arrived in Burgas with a special airplane. The BTA correspondent has learned that the delegation has all the authority to negotiate and decide on matters pertaining to the incident. At the airport the members of the delegation have said that it is impossible to negotiate on the release of the prisoners, and that if any of the passengers or the crew is killed, this would mean the death sentence for the 47 followers.

The Bulgarian side is fully cooperating with the Turkish delegation in order to favorably solve the incident. The hostages have released several more passengers in poor health. The general number of the released passengers has reached 25. The Turkish delegation has met the released passengers and begun negotiations with one of the hijackers, who is a 25-year-old youth.

Released Passengers' Account

AU241850 Sofia BTA in English 1836 GMT 24 May 81

[Text] Burgas, 24 May (BTA)--In a conversation with the special correspondent Lyubomir Gabrovski, one of the released passengers, engaged in trade, who declined to reveal his name, gave an account of how the hijacking has been carried out. Twenty minutes after the take-off from the Istanbul Airport of Yesilkoy four armed men between 20 and 25 years of age stood up in the four ends of the plane's salon and said: "Stand still. Stop talking, there is no danger for the lives of the passengers. Now we start for Bulgaria".

One of the women aboard, who, too, declined to reveal her name, thanked the Bulgarian competent bodies for promptly providing medical and human aid. The passengers released from the plane are in one of the halls at the airport of Burgas--seven women, eight children and five men with chronic ailments. One of the men has injured his leg in jumping from the plane and he was given urgent medical aid.

First Round of Talks

AU241930 Sofia BTA in English 1920 GMT 24 May 81

[Report by special correspondent Lyubomir Gabrovski: "First Round of Talks Ends Without Results"]

[Text] Burgas, 24 May (BTA)--The first round of talks between the Turkish delegation led by Mr Gurun, chief secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the representative of the hijackers ended in no results being achieved. After preliminary talks over the radio, the hijackers agreed to send a representative of theirs to the building of the Burgas Airport to talk personally. The condition was that if he did not return half an hour later to the airplane, the rest will start acting by murdering the crew and blowing up the plane with the passengers on board.

The hijackers who conducted the talks said that the plane is mined since yesterday when the two pistols were brought into the plane, the pistols with which they are now equipped. He repeated in a tone of ultimatum their demands. The hijacker said that he and his friends belonged to Dev-Sol [Revolutionary Left], a Turkish people's liberation organization. The hijacker handed over the passport of the American pilot whose name is William Edward Petes.

The Bulgarian competent bodies continue to make efforts and seek ways of bringing a most favourable solution to the incident.

Ultimatum Suspension

LD250437 Sofia in English to Europe 0400 GMT 25 May 81

[Excerpt] After the second round of negotiations between the Bulgarian and Turkish authorities on the one hand and the abductors on the other, the hijackers put off indefinitely their deadline so that the Turkish Government could be enabled to make a decision on their demands. For 24 hours the Turkish Government was categorically refusing to comply with the demands of the hijackers. As it is known, among the crew and passengers of the airplane there are Japanese and American citizens. The embassies of the United States and Japan to Sofia have consequently sent representatives of theirs to Burgas. The Bulgarian side continues to make maximum efforts for the incident being solved in the most painless and bloodless manner possible.

Second Round Unsuccessful

AU250927 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 25 May 81

[Text] The second round of the negotiations with the hijackers of the Turkish airplane has ended without success. The Turkish delegation has requested an interruption of the negotiations in order to consult with governmental services in Ankara. The Bulgarian side is continuing to make efforts to solve the incident in the most favorable and bloodless way. The passengers on board the airplane and the crew have been provided with food. Bulgarian medical authorities are continuing to treat the hostages who have been released by the hijackers.

Third Round Fruitless

AU251220 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1200 GMT 25 May 81

[Text] BTA reports that after completing the third round of the negotiations at 1130 between the delegation which has arrived from Ankara, led by Ambassador Gurun, general secretary of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and a representative of the hijackers of the DC-9 Turkish airplane, which landed yesterday morning at the Burgas Airport, it has become clear that the Turkish Government maintains its position and refuses to fulfill the hijackers' demands. As known, the hijackers had demanded the release of 47 of their followers from Turkish prisons.

Before the third round of the negotiations, Mr Gurun talked on the telephone with the Turkish premier and president. It has been announced that the Turkish Government would treat the eventual detonation of the airplane with the passengers and crew on board as an airplane crash.

A representative of the hijackers has handed the delegation the farewell letters of the 95 passengers and crew, who are aboard the airplane. Many of them are begging the Turkish Government to relinquish its position. This is also the request of the two pilots, Commander Captain [name indistinct] and second pilot (Barla Akhedir).

The five U.S. and two Japanese citizens, who are aboard the airplane, have requested their governments and the Turkish Government to cooperate. A representative of the hijackers has again presented to Bulgarian and foreign journalists the conditions for releasing the passengers and the airplane, which were published yesterday.

The Bulgarian competent organs are continuing to make efforts to solve the incident in the most favorable way.

Capture of Hijackers

AU251341 Sofia BTA in English 1332 GMT 25 May 81

[By BTA special correspondent Lybomir Gabrovski]

[Text] Burgas, 25 May (BTA)--The drama with the hijacked Turkish plane DC-9 which was forced to land yesterday morning at the Bulgarian airport of Burgas, ended favorably at 14.50 hrs local time. After an operation of the Bulgarian security forces which started at 14.05 hrs the four hijackers were seized and rendered harmless.

The security bodies succeeded in convincing two of the hijackers to leave the plane to make a statement before Bulgarian and foreign journalists outside. After climbing down from the plane the hijackers were detained. Having realized that only two of the hijackers are in the plane the passengers attacked them and they managed to take away the pistol of one of the hijackers, who immediately after that jumped from the plane only to be detained immediately by the Bulgarian security forces. The second hijacker has started shooting at random and has wounded several of the passengers. In ambulances the wounded were rushed to the hospital, where they were rendered emergency medical aid by Bulgarian teams of doctors. According to first reports the lives of every one of the wounded is out of danger. The wounds are light or semi-grave. One of the hijackers is serously wounded.

More Details

AU251826 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 22 May 81

[Text] After a little over 30 hours of tension and a brilliant operation of the Bulgarian security forces, the lives of the 95 passengers and of the crew of the Turkish airlines Douglas aircraft have been saved.

The efforts of the government and of the competent Bulgarian organs to free the hostages of the four Turkish hijackers were crowned with full success. The operation at Burgas Airport began at 1400 local time, after two of the hijackers were removed from the aircraft. These were the young man who conducted the negotiations with the Turkish delegation and the soldier who, reportedly, brought weapons on board the aircraft. A little before the two aforementioned hijackers were brought to the airport hall at 1414 local time, for a moment it seemed that the situation was getting out of control. The hijacked aircraft, with engines running, was beginning to maneuver on the tarmac, preparing for takeoff. The control tower had not received any request for permission to carry out the movement and to take off. Our authorities adopted energetic actions and prevented the further movement of the Turkish aircraft.

At the moment of action, one of the two terrorists who remained on board the aircraft tried to fire, but his gun did not fire. Some of the passengers reportedly adopted unnecessary initiative that greatly complicated the situation on board the aircraft. A few shots were fired. Fortunately, everything passed with only light and medium injuries, received mainly by jumping off the aircraft.

There is no danger to the lives of the injured, among whom there is a Japanese couple--a man and wife--an Iranian student, two Turkish citizens, as well as two of the hijackers.

The aircraft was surrounded by a tight cordon of security forces. The injured passengers were taken by ambulance to the Burgas Okrug Hospital, after which the remaining passengers were led away in two groups. Stepping on the buses, the passengers wept with joy and expressed their cordial gratitude to the Bulgarian authorities for efforts made for their release. All those who needed it received immediate medical assistance.

Kemuran Gurun, the chief secretary of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, visited the five injured passengers at the hospital. During the inspection of the aircraft it was ascertained that its surface has been damaged only in one place, due to a projectile. The hijackers, who have been arrested, have been handed over to the Bulgarian legal authorities.

Turkish Reportage

For Ankara radio and ANATOLIA coverage of the hijacking of a Turkish airline flight, see the Turkey section of the 26 May Western Europe DAILY REPORT.

PRAGUE NOTES SOVIET TROOPS INSULTED IN POLAND

LD252232 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2150 GMT 25 May 81

[Text] Poland: The Council of Ministers, with the voivodas and mayors also present, discussed today in Warsaw public order and the protection of citizens' security. The council noted that criminal activity in the country has continued to grow alarmingly, that cases of the violation of public order are on the increase, and social discipline is declining. The atmosphere created around public security and incidents making its activity difficult are endangering the fundamental prerequisites of social life in the country and limit the possibilities of protecting citizens' lives and property.

Recently there have also been instances of an incorrect attitude, unjustified demands and accusations--including cases of insulting [urazka] members of the Soviet troops temporarily stationed in Poland. The Council of Ministers noted that these facts are impermissable. The temporary stay of the Soviet troops in Poland, legally defined by the governments of the two countries, is of fundamental importance for peace, stability and security in Europe, for the permanence and inviolability of the border on the Odra and Nysa. The Council of Ministers stressed that attempts to stir up anti-Soviet feelings are contrary to the spirit of the relations of alliance and endanger Polish interests.

The session stressed that the leading Polish bodies will take the necessary steps and measures to protect and observe alliance obligations. The Council of Ministers further emphasized the all-social role of public security and expressed the conviction that the security forces will strengthen security.

POLISH CATHOLICS, COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES CRITICIZED

LD222332 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2150 GMT 22 May 81

[Text] Poland: The Catholic Church, leaders of the Walesa trade union organization and other antisocialist forces continue to endeavor to weaken the internationalist feeling of the Polish working people and replace it with extreme nationalism.

For this purpose they made use of the celebrations of the 190th anniversary of the 3 May constitution which, although progressive at that time, was nonetheless marked by the influence of that period. The Walesa trade union organization and the nationalist forces have declared that constitution as a symbol of the pride and hope of the Poles, as if Poland did not have enough other important historical (?milestones).

The recent assassination attempt on Pope John Paul II in Rome served as another pretext. It was condemned by the whole world but reaction in Poland, as a result of the influence of the church and the Walesa trade union organization, reminds one of the Middle Ages, as observed succintly by one Western observer. Mass was served in large numbers, processions of the so-called independent students were held and speeches and sermons were given in which the pope was described as the greatest Pole and the apostle of peace.

The Polish press, radio and television, too, have succumbed to the nationalist hysteria. The latest pretext for the alleged awakening of the Poles' national pride is the current 100th anniversary of the birth of the Polish bourgeois politician, Gen Wladyslaw Sikorski, who, between 1941-1943, was the supreme commander of the Polish Armed Forces in the west. Mass is served in his memory in large numbers; schools are named after him and his statues are being unveiled, as if the Soviet Army and tens of thousands of Poles who liberated Poland side by side did not make any contribution to the liberation of Poland.

Hostile Forces

LD260912 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0500 GMT 26 May 81

[Frantisek Sojka dispatch from Warsaw]

[Text] Although yesterday's demonstrations [in Poland] were held under the auspices of the independent students' union, one must look for those who really inspired them among the counterrevolutionary forces in Solidarity and the grouping of the Social Self-Defense Committee and the Confederation for an Independent Poland. A pretext for yesterday's action was a demand for the release of the leaders of the Confederation for an Independent Poland, who are held in detention under investigation, and of two terrorists, the Kowalczyk brothers.

The backdrop to yesterday's Polish demonstrations and other pressure actions is however much broader. The forces hostile to the socialist order in Poland have decided to serve a clear notice on the government that the current period of rather relative calm and the ever worsening political and economic situation really depend solely on how the government will react to their escalated demands, and showing that in addition to strikes and the occupation of public buildings it is also possible to use other, to date neglected, means. It would appear that the antisocialist forces in Poland have realized very well that strikes are now provoking disagreement among the Polish public, which is why they decided to do something different, and as an acid test they have made use of university students to stage their first but carefully prepared attempt.

SOLIDARITY HUNGER STRIKE IN SOSNOWIEC REPORTED

LD232230 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2100 GMT 23 May 81

[Text] Walesa's trade unions are trying to gain further political concessions from the administration with provocative hunger strikes.

The Polish press confirmed today that a five-member group have been on a hunger strike in a building enterprise in Sosnowiec since 20 May with the aim of achieving the release of Lech Moczulski and other leaders of the so-called Confederation for an Independent Poland, accused of antisocialist and antistate activities.

In spite of a dangerous increase in criminal activity in Poland, the Walesa trade unions in Radom continue to demand the handing over of two buildings of the voivodship public security offices, allegedly to be used for social purposes.

STROUGAL PAYS OFFICIAL VISIT TO AUSTRIA

Arrival in Vienna

LD241558 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1530 GMT 24 May 81

[Text] Lubomir Strougal, federal premier of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, arrived this afternoon in Vienna for a brief working visit to Austria.

At Schwechat Airport he was welcomed by Bruno Kreisky, Austrian federal chancellor, at whose invitation the visit is taking place. The purpose of the visit is to discuss the possibilities of further deepening Czechoslovak-Austrian contacts and cooperation in the interest of the continuing process of detente in Europe.

After his arrival in Vienna, Lubomir Strougal left for his rooms in the Ringstrasse and shortly after that the two prime ministers met in the chancellor's office for the first round of talks.

Talks Reported

LD252128 Prague CTK in English 1700 GMT 25 May 81

[Text] Vienna, 25 May (CETEKA correspondent)--Visiting Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal and Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky continued on Monday their talks and assessed the development of cooperation between their countries and possibilities of its promotion in the political, economic and cultural sphere.

After Lubomir Strougal's arrival on Sunday, the two officials discussed foreign political issues and exchanged views on questions concerning especially international detente, disarmament and the Middle East conflict. The meeting lasted two hours.

Before Monday's meeting with Bruno Kreisky, Lubomir Strougal met with Franz Muhri, chairman of the Communist Party of Austria.

Lubomir Strougal and Bruno Kreisky were gratified to note in their talks here that since their last meeting in January 1979 the relations and cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Austria had a rising tendency.

They expressed the interest to continue along this road, since it is beneficial to both countries, and considered a more regular exchange of views and personal contacts on all levels as very important tools for the further development of relations between the two countries.

Their talks were focused especially on the prospects and further extension of goods exchange, on long-term economic and scientific-technical cooperation, cooperation in production, and particularly cooperation on third markets. In this context, some suggestions were discussed, the realization of which would contribute to greater dynamism of the economic relations and intensify the economic cooperation in the near future.

Bruno Kreisky accepted an invitation to visit Czechoslovakia and the date is to be fixed by diplomatic channels.

The meeting between the two heads of government took place in a frank and friendly atmosphere.

Press Conference Reported

LD251704 Prague CTK in English 1514 GMT 25 May 81

[By CTK correspondent]

[Text] Vienna, 25 May (CETEKA)--The Czechoslovak-Austrian cooperation has been very successful, and promotion of friendly ties and peaceful cooperation in Europe is of great importance for detente in the world, Austrian Federal Chancellor Bruno Kreisky told journalists here Monday at a joint press conference at the close of talks of Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal with the chancellor. Bruno Kreisky stressed it is necessary to persuade the new U.S. administration to continue the process of detente.

Bruno Kreisky and Lubomir Strougal hailed the results of bilateral cooperation, and came out for annual consultations.

Lubomir Strougal then spoke about the prospects of further cooperation, especially in the sphere of joint ventures on third markets. He pointed to the recent successful negotiations of Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Minister Andrej Barcak with his counterpart Josef Staribacher; 28 joint projects are currently under discussion, he said. Lubomir Strougal underlined the necessity of a new long-term trade agreement between the two states which is to be signed later this year during the planned visit by Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak to Austria.

Return Home; Visit Summed Up

LD251350 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 25 May 81

[Text] Lubomir Strougal, federal premier, returned to Prague today from a 2-day working visit to Austria. He was welcomed at Ruzyne Airport by Vaclav Hula and Rudolf Rohlicek, federal deputy premiers, and by other officials.

At today's meeting Lubomir Strougal and Bruno Kreisky, the Austrian federal chancellor, noted with satisfaction that since their last meeting in January 1979 relations and cooperation between the two neighboring states have increased. They voiced their interest in the continuation of this trend as it is mutually beneficial. In their talks they concentrated primarily on long-term prospects and the further exchange of goods, on long-term economic, scientific and technological cooperation, cooperation in production and especially cooperation regarding third markets. In this connection they discussed certain ideas, which, if implemented, would contribute to more dynamic economic relations and to intensified economic cooperation in the near future.

Before leaving, Lubomir Strougal, together with Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky, held a press conference at which they answered journalists' questions concerning primarily the talks and Czechoslovak-Austrian relations.

STROUGAL RETURNS AFTER MEETING WITH TIKHONOV

LD221522 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1500 GMT 22 May 81

[Text] Comrade Lubomir Strougal returned home from Moscow this afternoon along with his entourage. At Ruzyne Airport he was welcomed by the federal deputy premiers, Karol Laco and Jindrich Zahradnik, and by other Czechoslovak representatives. Aleksandr Botvin, the Soviet ambassador to Czechoslovakia was also present.

SOVIET MILITARY COOPERATION DELEGATION DEPARTS

LD231055 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 22 May 81

[Text] A delegation of the Soviet defense organization DOSAAF [All Union Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation and Navy] ended its visit to Czechoslovakia today and left Bratislava for Moscow. It was headed by Marshal Aleksandr Pokryshkin, chairman of its Central Committee. The Soviet guests were seen off by Ladislav Sadovsky, head of a department of the CPSL Central Committee and chairman of the Central Committee; Lt Gen Vaclav Horacek, chairman of the Czechoslovak Union for Cooperation with the Army; and other representatives.

TWO DETAINED CHARTER 77 ADVOCATES RELEASED

NC260827 Paris AFP in English 0810 GMT 26 May 81

[Text] Prague, 26 May (AFP)--Two of ten supporters of the human rights group Charter 77, detained late last month in connection with the arrest of two French nationals with allegedly subversive material, have been freed, sources close to charter supporters said today.

The sources said that philosopher Miroslav Kusy, arrested in Bratislava, and former student leader Jiri Mueller, detained in Brno, were both freed late last week.

The eight still in jail are writers Milan Simecka and Eva Kanturkova, journalists Karel Kyncl and Jiri Ruml, poet Jaromir Horec, historian Jan Mlynarik, sociologist Jirina Siklova and a worker, Jan Ruml.

All ten were charged with "serious subversive activities" after the French nationals were found to be carrying printed material allegedly for Charter 77.

Several other signatories of the charter have been left free but charged with "subversion in liaison with abroad".

HUSAK HOPES FOR SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

AU221208 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 May 81 p 1

[Text] Prague--CSSR President Gustav Husak sent the delegates of the International Conference on Sanctions Against the Republic of South Africa in Paris the following greetings telegram:

In the name of the CSSR Government, the Czechoslovak people and in my own name I send you, delegates to the International Conference on Sanctions Against the Republic of South Africa, cordial friendly greetings and wishes for full success in your responsible work.

The situation in southern Afirca at present represents one of the most serious hotbeds of crisis threatening international peace and security in the world. By its policy of apartheid the racist regime of the Republic of South Africa is trampling underfoot basic human rights, stepping up the oppression of the local population and carrying out aggressive actions against neighboring states. With its unbending and arrogant stand it is preventing the just solution of the issue of Namibia's independence and the implementation of the right of self-determination of this country's people. Progressive and peace-loving forces are greatly disturbed by the growing militarism and increasing military potential of the Republic of South Africa which, with the open support of imperialist circles with the United States at their head, is threatening the security and sovereignty of neighboring states and creating the great and real danger of a conflict not only in southern Africa, but also in other parts of the world.

Our socialist social system resolutely rejects apartheid, as well as all and any other forms of racial or social oppression. All Czechoslovak people therefore express full support for the just fight of the national liberation forces of southern Africa and Namibia against racial oppression, and for putting a stop to lawlessness and creating conditions for ensuring the political, economic and social advance of the peoples of these countries. In keeping with this, the CSSR will continue to support all effective measures aimed at liquidating the racist policy of the South African regime and at eliminating colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and apartheid in southern Africa.

I would like to express to you the hope that, by adopting sanctions against the South African racists this conference will effectively contribute toward implementing the right of all peoples for self-determination, and thus also contribute toward consolidating world peace.

REAGAN'S NOTRE DAME REMARKS CALLED 'AUDACIOUS'

AU221115 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 21 May 81 p 2

["KB"-signed commentary: Not at All Naive"]

[Text] The American President Ronald Reagan has already recoverd from the injury he suffered at the end of March during an attempt on his life. In spite of the fact that the would-be assassin was a young man--or, who knows, perhaps precisely because of that--one of his first destinations was Notre Dame University in South Bend, Indiana. And it must be said that his visit and especially his commencement address there were really a bit much. According to agency reports, Ronald Reagan declared last Sunday: "The West will not contain communism--it will transcend communism. We will not bother to denounce it; we will erase [as published] it as a tragic, bizarre chapter in human history whose last pages are now being written."

Let us leave aside that in the same address, so to speak in the same breath, he admitted that "we are troubled today by economic decline and growing inflation..." and thus contradicted himself. The point is that his words were, to say the least, peculiar and, if we want to be more precise, slyly audacious. He can hardly be considered so naive that he does not know very well that neither Hitlerite fascism nor Americans in Vietnam succeeded in "erasing communism"; that the "bizarre chapter in human history" has been in existence for more than 63 years; and that, finally, more and more people are beginning to understand and implement the ideas of communism and more and more nations and countries are beginning to pursue the communist principle of peaceful coexistence and not the wolfish laws of imperialism....

To make a long story short, if Ronald Reagan were not the head of the most powerful capitalist state and thus a man with extraordinary authority and responsibility, we might as well laugh about the statements he made on Sunday. But in view of the fact that it was the President of the United States of America who presented his outspoken views publicly before the country's future intelligentsia, it must be said that his words were not only scarcely encouraging for Americans and for the world but even very dangerous.

BILAK SPEECH VIEWS ECONOMIC, FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES

LD252214 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 25 May 81

[Report on speech by Vasil Bilak, Presidium member and CPCZ Central Committee secretary, delivered at Presov election meeting on 25 May--recorded in Slovak]

[Text] In the past 5 years our working people under the leadership of the Communist Party, in implementing the line of the 15th congress, further multiplied the material and intellectual values of socialism. We have thus contributed to better satisfying the needs of our working people.

Despite not insignificant difficulties, our national economy has developed successfully. Only incompetent people or those who do not wish us well do not see or do not want to see the results that have been attained.

In the short period of 5 years in little Czechoslovakia--after all, we are no great power--610 million tons of coal and lignite have been extracted; 75 million tons of steel have been melted; more than 50 million tons of grain have been produced; 4,300 megawatts of electrical output have been put into operation; almost 650,000 new apartments have been built; the capacity of creches has risen by 18,000 places and of nursery schools by 220,000 new places; and new schools, hospitals and hundreds of kilometers of roads have been built.

These are concrete and tangible results of conscientious work by millions of our people. Let's get the picture. Let's see quite concretely, for example, what this means where apartments are concerned. Kosice, for instance, has 65,093 habitable apartments. Presov has 20,548 habitable apartments. This means that in just 5 years 10 cities the size of Kosice and 30 cities the size of Presov have been built. All that we have achieved in the past period gives us the certainty that the targets which we have planned for the next 15-year period will be successfully fulfilled.

What will we be striving for in the coming years? The 16th congress critically and frankly reviewed the work of the central bodies and lower sectors, the federal and national governments, the State Planning Commission, ministries, economic production units and central state and economic bodies.

It is far from my intention to minimize justified criticism, but the struggle for high quality , economic management and labor discipline must be waged everywhere, at every place of work. This applies to everyone.

Let us ask the following questions: How are raw materials and energy being valorized? How are working hours being utilized? How are transport and supplies to shops functioning? How are services working in individual regions, districts and towns? Do we not encounter reservations and shortcomings here, too? Is there not room for improvement here as well?

People will understand objective causes which here or elsewhere create difficulties but they will hardly understand that bad quality bread is sold in shops, that grocers offer them bad quality fruit or vegetables, that repair shops return bad quality work, that shortages of certain goods are at times artificially produced or tolerated, thus giving rise to under-the-counter sales and so forth.

These shortcomings, frequently called trivial faults, which are making our lives poorer and more unpleasant are caused by district and regional bodies, the national committees, and leading economic workers, communists and non-party members. Nobody is excused. We cannot tolerate some people receiving their pay not for work done but for being at work, and someone else increasing his living standards at the expense of the honest work of others. We must create a social climate and an atmosphere in which the various loafers, parasites, and racketeers cannot live in peace; where the working collective would denounce every such deed; where those who want to be parasitic in this way would be ashamed to face their own children because such people are not heroes but dishonest people! In this, a great role is played by ideological-political education. It is necessary to wage a struggle in every sphere where such phenomena persist. It is necessary to wage it purposefully and concretely against specific people. It is necessary to fight against this kind of disorder and those who are responsible for it. We shall not master our demanding tasks with people who are afraid of everything, who are avoiding difficulties and who cover up their own incompetence with excuses about objective circumstances. We must very responsibly assess the causes of our problems and shortcomings. We must consistently differentiate between objective causes, between the shortcomings of the economic mechanism and between features inherent to the people and their approach to the fulfillment of tasks and responsibilities. No package of measures will help in a place where poor standards of direct management and low demands and responsibility survive, where state and planning discipline is violated, where the standards of checking are low, where some workers do not know what their tasks and responsibilities are and what contribution to the whole is made by the fulfillment of tasks.

[Announcer interrupts] In the next part of his address delivered at the preelection rally in Presov Comrade Vasil Bilak dealt with the questions of our international policy.

As distinct from the 1970's, the present international situation has become far more complicated owing to the doings of imperialism. Irrespective of the aspirations of the peoples for the consolidation of peace, attempts are being made to liquidate international detente and revive the cold war. Stockpiling of weapons, including the most dangerous, outstrips all efforts toward slowing down this process. Major negotiations on the limitation of arms and on disarmament have been suspended or halted because of actions by the United States. There is a saying that the greatness of a human being like the greatness of a nation is revealed especially at a time of severe tests. We could say, in the same vein, that the wisdom and responsibility of the leading representatives of states are revealed especially in complicated international situations. American statesmen have failed to pass this historical test. They are neither prepared nor capable of taking account of the continuing revolutionary changes in the world. They refuse to come to terms with the military balance between the United States and the Soviet Union; they are, moreover, not capable of reconciling themselves with the gradual decline of their political and economic influence within the capitalist grouping. They are reacting in a morbid way to attempts by any state in Latin America, Africa or Asia to set out along a road of genuine independence.

So far, no realistic proposals have been forthcoming from the U.S. administration for the solution of questions in dispute; on the contrary, U.S. representatives merely come out with arrogant statements, some of them close to hysteria.

In this whipped up anti-Soviet atmosphere, hostile to peace, which the new friends of imperialism, the Chinese hegemonists, are helping to stir up, a new message of peace has resounded from the rostrum of the 26th CPSU Congress. Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has submitted a vast complex of new and constructive proposals for the limitation of arms, for military detente and for the solution of complex international problems by way of negotiation. All the proposals of the 26th CPSU Congress have one single objective, one common endeavor: to do everything to free the peoples from the threat of nuclear war and to preserve peace on our planet. For all these reasons the 16th CPCZ Congress identified itself with the proposals presented by Comrade Brezhnev and gave them its unanimous support. We see in these proposals not only a path toward solving the most pressing world problems but we also consider them the concentrated expression of the vital interests of all Czechoslovak people in international relations. As a state with an important geographical position in central Europe, we, together with our allies, are exceptionally interested, above all, that the existing approximate military balance in Europe not be upset since this balance is the foundation of the relative stability of the European Continent.

Dear comrades, imperialism would not be imperialism if it did not attempt to exploit the difficult political and economic crisis in Poland which, after all, imperialism itself has helped to bring into being. Through various means, imperialism is supporting counterrevolutionary forces in Poland and encourages them in their fight against the socialist system and against the unity of the countries of the socialist community. Bourgeois papers do not make any secret of the hope that anticommunist and anti-Soviet forces in Solidarity will succeed in transforming it into a kind of Christian-socialist party which, with their support, will wage a fight against the PZPR. Our stance on developments in Poland was clearly expressed by Comrade Husak at the 16th CPCZ Congress. We again wish to tell imperialism and all enemies of progress: No one will tear Poland out of the socialist community. Poland is not alone. It has loyal friends in the socialist countries and it can rely upon them.

Dear comrades, esteemed fellow citizens: The 16th CPCZ Congress produced convincing proofs that we are marching along the correct path of the construction of an advanced socialist society. On this path we are harvesting good yields of our work. The years to come will not be as easy as the past years. On the contrary, this is so for many reasons, but it has always been like that. Just as it is natural that the demands and requirements of the people are rising, it is also natural that the tasks are growing. The 16th congress laid down a demanding program of economic and social development for the Seventh 5-Year Plan and this plan expresses the fundamental interests and needs of our people. In order to implement our intentions and our plans, in order to translate our endeavor into practical results, we need peace. The protection of peace is the most important duty of mankind at present. But peace, just like the well-being of the people, will not come on its own. It is necessary to fight for peace. In our conditions this can be done through our responsible and selfless work to strengthen the economic and political authority of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the socialist community and our friendship with the Soviet Union.

BRIEFS

BURMESE AMBASSADOR LEAVING--U Tin Do, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma to the CSSR, was received on 20 May by Dalibor Hanes, deputy chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly and chairman of the Chamber of Nations, in connection with the ambassador's concluding his mission in the CSSR. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 May 81 p 2 AU]

HONECKER LEAVES FOR STATE VISIT TO JAPAN

Entourage Listed

LD251910 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1810 GMT 25 May 81

[Text] Berlin, 25 May (ADN)--Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, tonight left on a state visit to Japan. On his visit, 26-31 May, Erich Honecker is accompanied by Guenter Mittag, member of the State Council, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee; Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer; Dr Gerhard Beil, member of the Council of Ministers, state secretary and first deputy foreign trade minister; Frank Joachim Herrmann, state secretary and head of the office of the chairman of the State Council; and other personages. They have been invited by the Japanese government.

At Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport, Erich Honecker and the members of his official delegation were bidden a cordial farewell by Willi Stoph, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, and other members of the GDR party and state leadership.

Honecker Greets Brezhnev

LD260930 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2019 GMT 25 May 81

[Text] Moscow, 25 May (ADN)--On his flight to Japan Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, addressed on Monday from his plane the following state telegram to Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet:

"On flying over USSR territory on an official visit to Japan, I convey most cordial greetings to you and the fraternal Soviet people. With pleasure I use the occasion to renew my best wishes to the communists and all working people in the Soviet Union for the successful implementation of the historic decisions taken by the 26th CPSU Congress, for the building of communism and the safeguarding of peace."

Arrives in Japan

LD260842 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0833 GMT 26 May 81

[Text] Tokyo, 26 May (ADN)--Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR Council of State, arrived in Japan on Tuesday on a state visit. He was invited by the Japanese Government. The special Interflug plane landed at about 1700 local time at Tokyo-Haneda international airport.

Erich Honecker and those accompanying him went a little later to Akasaka Palace, which will be the high-ranking guest's residence during his stay in Tokyo. According to the country's conventions of protocol, the official welcome for the GDR head of state will take place there the following morning.

GENERAL HOFFMANN ADDRESSES NVA ELECTION MEETING

LD252242 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1544 GMT 25 May 81

[Text] Berlin, 25 May (ADN)--Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, SED politburo member and GDR national defense minister, today addressed an election meeting of the ground forces of the National People's Army [VNA]. Dealing with the increasing aggressiveness of imperialist circles, the minister said:

"Under enormous U.S. pressure and with the assiduous support of the leading forces of the FRG, NATO is heading for a new, and indeed, unprecedented round of the arms race. The United States proposes to spend about $1.5 trillion on it in the period to 1986.

The arms concerns will make super profits from the system of intercontinental mobile MX missiles, Trident submarines, new strategic bombers and the development of laser weapons. The arms race is to be stepped up in outer space as shown by the latest U.S. space venture. Of the space shuttle missions already planned, one-third will be completely given over to military purposes and the others will largely serve military purposes." So it was important for the soldiers of socialism to ensure at all times a high level of fighting strength and combat readiness.

"Under the leadership of the party of the working class, surrounded by the trust of working people in town and country, raised alongside the glorious Soviet army, the members of the NVA and GDR frontier troops have helped in large ways to strengthen the foundations of our state and to reliably protect our socialist home," Heinz Hoffmann said. He is the leading candidate of constituency 25 for the People's Chamber.

The profession of arms called for sure mastery of the principles of the art of war, he said. "And yet we are partisans of peace, consistent, if not indeed the most consistent, supporters of our party's peace policy because we know well what devastating consequences a modern war can inflict on our country, our people, indeed on mankind. That is why we are taking a strong stand for preserving and strengthening peace and international cooperation, promoting the policy of peaceful coexistence between states of different social systems, enhancing our fighting strength and combat readiness in order to make any imperialist aggressor lose the taste for military adventures."

Hoffmann on Army Exercises

LD252320 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1505 GMT 25 May 81

[Excerpts] In recent days and weeks electoral candidates have had many meetings with the electorate. Today a leading candidate for the People's Chamber, army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and defense minister, spent some time with members of the ground forces of the National People's Army [NVA]. Lothar Roellike reports:

High military ability and the exact mastery of their fighting equipment were demonstrated this morning at a training area by units of the pioneer unit "Willi Becker" and motorised infantry units of the "Paul Hegenbarth" unit. Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann was able to see for himself the excellent cooperation of the individual crews while crossing the Havel River and ferrying of trucks and artillery. Afterward he used the opportunity to talk with some soldiers and noncommissioned officers.

The first part of the visit ended with further demonstrations in which members of both NVA units showed clearly how well they had learned their tranining, how bravely and resolutely they fulfilled every task, and how they struggled for the best results with great physical effort.

In the afternoon the defense minister spoke to members of the ground forces. He pointed out, among other things, that the present and future members of the People's Chamber did not need to advertise themselves to the citizens, as happened every 4 years in the FRG and other imperialistic countries. Here in our republic everyone can see, every work collective and family can experience how closely the party of the working class is connected with the people, how the candidates responsibly work for the happiness of each citizen daily.

BULGARIA'S STANISHEV ARRIVES FOR OFFICIAL VISIT

Met by Gyenes

LD232046 Budapest MTI in English 1740 GMT 23 May 81

[Text] Budapest, 23 May (MTI)--At the invitation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, arrived in Budapest on Saturday. He was met at Ferihegy Airport by Andras Gyenes, secretary of the HSWP CC.

Received by Kadar

LD260832 Budapest MTI in English 1722 GMT 25 May 81

[Text] Budapest, 25 May (MTI)--Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, received on Monday Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, currently visiting Budapest.

MILITARY-POLICE PATROLS IN POLISH CITIES REPORTED

LD251800 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 25 May 81

[Text] Warsaw: The first joint military-police patrols have appeared on the streets of Polish towns and smaller settlements. This kind of cooperation between the Ministries of National Defense and the Interior has become necessary owing to a deterioration in public order in recent times; policemen have been attacked on more than one occasion. Student demonstrations started in several Polish towns this afternoon.

5-YEAR CONSTRUCTION AGREEMENT WITH USSR SIGNED

LD231115 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 22 May 81

[Text] A 5-year work plan was signed by Janos Szabo, state secretary of construction and urban development, at the Hungarian-Soviet construction talks. The developing material and energy-saving construction programs and initiatives to decrease human labor were designated as the most important tasks of the cooperating organizations.

POLISH, ROMANIAN CURRENCY REGULATIONS REPORTED

LD222345 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2200 GMT 22 May 81

[Text] Hungarian tourists visiting the socialist countries will continue to be entitled to buy foreign currency worth 10,000 forints each year. The 400 forints per day limit also remains in force. In line with earlier agreements, certain socialist countries may regard it as a condition of entry that the Hungarian tourist possess an appropriate amount of officially exchanged currency. Those going to Poland must purchase at least Z800; this entitles them to a stay of 4 days, with every additional day requiring the purchase of Z200. Those traveling to Romania must buy at least 80 leus per day.

RECENT SPEECH REVEALS REAGAN ADMINISTRATION VIEWS

LD221110 Budapest MTI in English 1026 GMT 22 May 81

[Text] Budapest, 22 May (MTI)--"Last week we could learn more about the foreign political efforts of the Reagan government than during the whole of the hundred-odd days (?which) have elapsed since the election of the new president," runs an editorial in the latest editions of the Budapest weekly MAGYARORSZAG. The commentator quotes a recent striking speech by Reagan in which he openly and rudely instigated against communism and urged its destruction.

The article recalls that in the past days the White House made the Senate approve a record military budget and that the US secretary of defense declared that the UN will not want to resume the SALT negotiations in foreseeable time and he did not believe either that SALT-2 will ever be ratified. These decisions and statements imply that the new American (?Government) has finally succeeded in shaping its foreign policy. If its essence can be described with one single word: confrontation. Confrontation with the Sovier Union and the socialist community, the process of detente and the cause of peace. Its method can also be described with one word: to win ascendency. And by winning military ascendency, to force on the world the Pax Americana. Its tool is simply this: "Armament", the commentator writes, adding:

"However, the White House and the Pentagon duly see to obscuring its real intentions. A good example is the Rome meeting of the NATO ministerial council which they make appear as an event 'meant to promote improvement of the international atmosphere'. In contrast this conference indicates the US decision to allow a shorter leash to its NATO allies and to force its will on them more firmly. In Rome it was the stand of the Reagan government that got the better of the partners in European questions, armament policy and relations with the Soviet Union."

The article then discusses [word indistinct] the intolerability of the propaganda drives designed to bolster up the above-described US foreign policy. "The facts of life gradually prove how nonsense the rumours spread about international terrorism are. Even for the blindest of manipulators it would be a hard job to trace back to the "reds' the attempts on Reagan and then on the pope, the terroristic actions in Spain, the murders in Italy.

The article continues to point out: "Most of the citizens of the socialist countries can see through the Western propaganda drive and rate it as a misleading manoevre aimed at discrediting socialism. Also in the Western states there are more and more realistically thinking people who can tell apart the real reds and the 'fake' reds who abuse the red flag to cover goals and ideals which are remote and alien from the real ones [words indistinct]. What then do the brains behind the campaign expect? That strong anti-communist prejudices are still alive in certain layers in the capitalist states which can even be fed to grow with false explanations. And thus they can kill two birds with one stone. [Words indistinct] the communists but also cleverly blur the fact that the real beneficiaries of terrorism are exactly those circles, to be found in the jet-set, which are [word indistinct] in mounting the anti-terrorism campaign", stresses the editorial of MAGYARORSZAG.

LEGAL AID AGREEMENT WITH FINLAND SIGNED BY MARKOJA

LD230958 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 22 May 81

[Text] A Hungarian-Finnish legal aid agreement was signed in Budapest by the two ministers of justice, Imre Markoja and Christoffer Taxell. The document contains measures for legal protection in civil, family and criminal affairs. It facilitates and simplifies cooperation between legal authorities in the two countries.

HAVASI, MSZMP DELEGATION RETURN HOME FROM FINLAND

LD251118 Budapest MTI in English 1035 GMT 25 May 81

[Text] Budapest, 25 May (MTI)--The delegation of the HSWP which, headed by Ferenc Havasi, member of the Political and secretary of the Central Committee, had attended the 19th Congress of the Finnish Communist Party, returned to Budapest Monday.

MEDIA REPORTS HARASSMENT TOWARD SOVIET TROOPS

Warsaw Reports 'Attacks'

LD251758 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 25 May 81

[Text] In the presence of voivodas and town mayors, the Council of Ministers has acquainted itself with the implementation of decisions pertaining to the state of public order and the protection of citizens adopted at the session of the Government Presidium on 14 May.

It has been ascertained that highly perturbing manifestations of increased crime, disturbance in public order and a slackening of social discipline have emerged. The atmosphere created around the Citizens Militia, including evidence of their action being hampered, is threatening the elementary conditions of social life and restricts the possibilities for protecting the life and property of citizens.

The danger in the situation is exacerbated by numerous politically subversive phenomena, in particular public demonstrations [wystapienia], leaflets, and posters whose content goes against the principle of the socialist state, the organs of authority and our alliances.

Recently, instances of an improper attitude have emerged, especially unjustified accusations and irresponsible demands, and even individual cases of attacks [ataki] on soldiers in the Group of Soviet Forces stationed in Poland. [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 2100 GMT on 25 May carries an identical version of the 1800 GMT report, except for the last part of the previous sentence, which in the 2100 GMT version reads: " . . . individual cases of insults (zniewazenie) against soldiers in the Group of Soviet Forces stationed in Poland."]

The Council of Ministers states that these things are impermissible. The temporary stationing of Soviet forces in Poland is legally regulated and arises from the international obligations of the Polish state. These related to the functioning of the defense treaty of the socialist countries. They constitute one of the conditions enabling the Soviet Union to execute its rights and discharge its responsibilities arising from the four-power agreements on Germany.

This is of fundamental importance for the peaceful stabilization and security of Europe and for guaranteeing the durability and inviolability of the Polish borders on the Odra and Nysa.

Problems pertaining to the temporary stationing of Soviet forces in Poland have been regulated by the agreement between the Government of the Polish People's Republic and the Government of the Soviet Union concerning the legal status of Soviet troops temporarily stationed in Poland, which was concluded and signed in Warsaw on 17 December 1957.

This agreement is strictly observed and correctly implemented by both governments. Soviet soldiers stationed in our country are carrying out a difficult and responsible service. This has always met with understanding and friendly feeling from out society. The soldiers of the Polish People's Army are linked with them by brotherhood-in-arms and close cooperation in carrying out joint defense tasks. For this reason, attempts to disrupt this atmosphere, to spread unwillingness and distrust, and to arouse anti-Soviet feelings is in conflict with the spirit and the letter of allied relations. They harm Poland's interests, first and foremost.

The Council of Ministers expresses the conviction that Polish society will correctly assess the harmfulness of such tendencies. They (?besmirch) the dignity of our country, they weaken the international [words indistinct] to Poland, our ability to restore socio-economic life to a state of health, and our ability to implement the socialist renewal in a serious and calm manner.

The authorities of the Polish People's Republic, guided by the supreme raison d'etat of the socialist state, will make the essential efforts and adopt meaures to protect and observe the allied obligations.

The Council of Ministers, stressing the general social role of the Citizens' Militia and expressing trust in and support for it, expects the organs of law and order, working actively and in accordance with the law, to strengthen public security, to step up activity in the service of the state and society and in the defense of the citizen.

The government is counting on such activity by the organs of law and order to be supported by a wholeheartedly conscious [word indistinct] sense of responsibility on the part of Polish society.

PAP Reports 'Insults'

LD252222 Warsaw PAP in English 2048 GMT 25 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 25 May (PAP)--The Council of Ministers at its session here today described as highly dangerous the growth in delinquency, disturbance of public order, and the atmosphere created around the People's Militia (police) in Poland. The danger of this situation is enhanced by political facts, such as public statements and circulation of leaflets and posters aimed against the principles of the socialist state, the organs of authority, and this country's alliances, it was stressed.

The council pointed to recent cases of misbehaviour and even occasional insult towards Soviet soldiers stationed in Poland under the Polish-Soviet agreement of 1957. The council voiced the confidence that the Polish people will perceive the (?harmful) characters of such trends and stated that the authorities will take steps to protect and guarantee observance of Poland's obligations stemming from her alliances.

Provisional stationing of Soviet troops in Poland results from Poland's obligations under the socialist countries' military defence treaty. These obligations are one of the conditions enabling the Soviet Union to materialize its rights and responsibilities resulting from the four-power agreements on Germany. This is of fundamental importance for peaceful stabilization and security in Europe, as well as for the durability and inviolability of Poland's Odra-Nysa border.

Soviet soldiers stationed in this country are linked with Polish soldiers by comradeship in arms and close cooperation in pursuing joint defence goals. That is why attempts to disturb this atmosphere, sow resentment and distrust, and provoke antiSoviet moods, are contradictory to both the spirit and the letter of allied relations and first of all do harm to the interests of Poland, the council said.

The cabinet expressed its confidence in the police and hoped that the Polish people would lend support to the police in their actions aimed to strengthen public security in Poland.

SUICIDES OF TWO FORMER MINISTERS REPORTED

Jerzy Olszewski

LD251452 Warsaw PAP in English 1416 GMT 25 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 25 May (PAP)--Jerzy Olszewski, former minister of foreign trade and maritime economy in Piotr Jaroszewicz's government is said to have committed suicide last night.

Asked by PAP, spokesmen for the Ministry of Internal Affairs and General Prosecutor's Office would neither confirm nor deny the news.

It was announced later that Warsaw Voivodship Prosecutor's Office has started an investigation. That removes any doubt as to whether the incident did occur.

Edward Barszcz

LD251822 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 25 May 81

[Text] PAP has been informed that Jerzy Olszewski, former minister of foreign trade and maritime economy, has committed suicide.

Today too, Edward Barszcz, former minister of construction and building materials industry, and before that governor of the city of Kracow, committed suicide in Warsaw.

GRABSKI COMMISSION INTERVIEWS FORMER OFFICIALS

LD252344 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 25 May 81

[Text] Tadeusz Grabski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, today chaired the third session of the commission set up at the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum to assess the progress so far and the acceleration of work concerning investigations into the question of responsibility.

During the meeting, talks were held with Piotr Jaroszewicz, Edward Babiuch and Franciszek Szlachcic. The commission acquainted itself with the replies of Piort Jaroszewicz and Edward Babiuch to the charges leveled against them at Sixth and Seventh Central Committee Plenums concerning the functioning of the party and the state, the shaping and implementation of economic policy and decisionmaking mechanisms between the years 1971-1980.

Piotr Jaroszewicz adhered to his statements made in the Central Party Control Commission on 4 February 1981 and gave self-critical answers to the questions put by members of the commission. These have fully confirmed his responsibility, among other things, for permitting glaring errors in the investment policy of the state. As a result of this, the strategy of the sixth congress and of the post-December party policy collapsed as early as 1974-1975. This permitted the creation of a high national debt and a catastrophic balance of payments situation, a lack of control over the implementation of licences policy, the imposition of principles containing an erroneous concept of price changes in June 1976 and, in particular, of the range and rate of increases and criteria for compensation; this also resulted in the thwarting of the submission of an objective evaluation of the state of our economy to the Ninth Central Committee Plenum in 1977 which would have permitted the execution of real rather than fake economic maneuvers--this evaluation was prepared by the central and local party aktiv; this resulted in the liquidation of small-scale production, above all in local industry; this caused errors in personnel policy, in the government and central administration; this resulted in a failure to react fully to the information from the Supreme Chamber of Control about the real state of the economy, the socioeconomic situation and the worsening husbandry results; this created a flawed style and system of work which was imposed on the Council of Ministers and the Government Presidium. He is also responsible for suppressing all attempts at a critical assessment of the development of the situation and the state of the economy.

At the same time, Piotr Jaroszewicz stated that after the events of June 1976, feeling himself responsible for the management of the economy, he submitted his resignation to the first secretary of the party Central Committee at the time, Edward Gierek. His resignation had not been accepted.

To the questions from members of the commission about the behavior of his son Andrzej, Piotr Jaroszewicz stated that, like every citizen, he is not exempt from responsibility for proven offences.

In connection with the resolution of the Seventh Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, in the section concerning the responsibility of Edward Babiuch for allowing distortions in inner-party life; for shaping an incorrect style of work in the party and insufficient care and attention to the quality of party ranks, the commission listened to his explanations of these issues.

Edward Babiuch took a self-critical attitude to them. Answering numerous questions from commission members, he indicated his particular responsibility in some spheres; giving priority to the quantitative growth of the party; selecting cadres in the sections subordinate to him; improperly using the flow of inner-party information from the grass roots, signaling critical assessments about phenomena and moods in the party and in society; and failing to guarantee effective control of the implementation of proposals tabled during the campaign before the eighth party congress.

Edward Babiuch recognized as highly improper the practice of the Politburo, the Central Committee Secretariat or the Organization Department of making decisions on behalf of and for the Central Committee. He also recognized as a mistake the fact that the Politburo was dominated by members of the government and [as heard] the fact that, in (?its) work, too many programs were approved without effective control of their implementation being ensured.

It was also incorrect for the government to raise too many detailed problems for deliberation by the Politburo. As Edward Babiuch stated, all members of the leadership felt reluctant about open, public presentations of shortcomings. He also stated that it was a mistake not to call a sessions of the Central Committee on the assessment of the events of June 1976 and not to draw the essential conclusions from them.

Next, Edward Babiuch cast light on some government undertakings, under his leadership as premier, aimed at improving the economic situation mainly by taking economic and balance of payment measures. He also cited instances of reacting to signs of social injustice.

The commission then heard a statement by Franciszek Szlachcic. It listened to his answered concerning the reasons for distortions in the methods and style of the party and government leadership's work.

Recognizing as correct the party's post-December policy Franciszek Szlachcic indicated that the departure from principles, the breakdown, occurred in 1973-74 as a result of the growing irregularities in leading the party and running the state. He stated that because he was in disagreement with this he submitted his resignation from the post of Politburo member and Central Committee secretary in 1974. However, he remained a member of the Politburo until the seventh party congress. Describing the work of the Politburo he considered the relations within it, between representatives of the government and the party activists as improper. Appreciating the importance of the cadres policy to the party, Franciszek Szlachcic explained that as a Central Committee secretary responsible for this sector of work, he initiated the adoption of a resolution on this matter by the Politburo.

GIEREK PZPR BRANCH DEMANDS INCLUSION IN COMMISSION

LD251534 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 25 May 81

[Text] The report and election conference of the Sosnowiec colliery PZPR membership has adopted a resolution demanding that a representative of the organization should be included in the commission set up at the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum to establish the personal responsibility of members of the former party leadership.

The miners from the Sosnowiec colliery justify their demand by the fact that Edward Gierek is still a member of their party organization. The participants in the conference have also decided that their representative on the commission should be Kazimierz Leuman, their elected delegate for the ninth extraordinary party congress.

It has been decided to approach the voivodship committee and the party Central Committee on the matter.

BABIUCH SUSPENDED FROM PZPR RIGHTS, ACTIVITIES

LD222320 Warsaw PAP in English 2023 GMT 22 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 22 May (PAP)--Under a resolution passed by the PUWP works committee at the rolling stock repair yard in Minsk Mazowiecki, Siedlce Voivodship, Edward Babiuch, former member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the PUWP Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, a long-time member of the yard's party organizations, has been suspended in his activities and rights as party member.

At a meeting of the PUWP works committee Edward Babiuch gave explanations and answered a number of questions. He has been found guilty of errors committed in discharging his party and state functions with regard to personnel policy, the overall shape of intra-party work and unsatisfactory performance towards improvement of the country's economic situation. The suspension is binding until a special commission set up at the 10th plenary meeting of the PUWP Central Committee, headed by CC Secretary Tadeusz Garbski, gives its verdict.

It is worth recalling that Babiuch's party membership has already been discussed before at another party meeting at the rolling stock repair yard. On both occasions Babiuch, in his explanations and answers, repeated his arguments and opinions. Among other things, he said that he assumed the premiership under some pressure exerted by members of the former party leadership but he was confident that regardless of a difficult situation a government under his leadership would overcome the difficulties.

Babiuch told the party works committee that his case will be examined shortly by the Central Committee's commission appointed to evaluate the responsibility of persons who held leading positions.

REPORTAGE ON 25 MAY STUDENT PROTEST MARCHES

LD230840 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 23 May 81

[Text] Our Bydgoszcz reporter informs us that a peace march will take place in this town on Monday. It is being organized by the regional committee for the defense of those imprisoned for their beliefs and by the Independent Students' Association. Many posters and pamphlets have been posted throughout the town appealing to the inhabitants of Bydgoszcz to take part in this march.

Bratkowski Urges Campus Calm

LD221804 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 22 May 81

[Text] The Executive Committee of the Association of Polish Journalists has received information about public demonstrations planned by the Independent Students Association for 25 May in protest against the detention of persons because of their political convictions.

In this connection, Stefan Bratkowski, chairman of the Association of Polish Journalists, issued a statement through the daily press and the radio in which he appeals to all who have made the decision to hold such demonstrations to restrict them exclusively to university premises. Tension has increased again, the chairman of the Association of Polish Journalists stresses in his statements. It is being intensified by the propaganda campaign which says that our country is in the throes of anarchy, and this campaign is being intensified further by various groups of people who are ready to carry out any provocation in order to prove this anarchy, who and are prepared to do anything in order to halt the course of changes and the renewal of the country, the state and the national economy. In these conditions any street demonstration might have dire consequences. Stefan Bratkowski has further emphasized that even if the students conduct themselves in a controlled and calm manner, their calm may not be enough.

[Warsaw PAP in English at 1422 GMT on 23 May also carries a report on Bratkowski's warning to the student protesters, adding: "[Words indistinct] believe me that I know what I'm talking about.

["Neither my colleagues nor me belong to cowards: Only the life has taught us that politics is an art of reason and reason can be on the side of youth--the generation of the Polish October proved that 25 years ago; you have proved that many a time, too. Not to create opportunities for stupidity and provocation is our common interest, he stated."]

Silesian University Warning

LD231650 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 23 May 81

[Excerpt] Following the election today of Prof August (Ciolkowski) as new rector of the Silesian University in Katowice, and in view of the fact that each citizen has the right to proclaim his opinions freely and stand in defense of people who are persecuted because of their political views--this being guided by concern for the fate of our country, for the defense of the process of democratization and by fear of the unexpected and tragic results which could arise from public demonstrations under present circumstances--the college of electors appeals to all people of good will, and in particular to students and employees at Silesian institutes for higher education, to refrain from participating in this kind of protest action.

The college of electors maintains that all protest (?actions) can be held on the campuses of higher education institutes and that the Silesian University is able to provide appropriate conditions for this kind of gathering of the student community of the region.

The college of electors of the Silesian University also includes representatives from the Independent Students Association whose chairman is Wojciech (Szaran).

Cancellation in Silesia Urged

LD251306 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1000 GMT 25 May 81

[Statement by Independent Students Association Chairman Wojciech (Szaran), of the University of Silesia, on plans by students to hold march in Katowice on 25 May in support of political prisoners--recorded]

[Text] The university collegium of electors has adopted a resolution in which it expresses its solidarity with the idea of freeing political prisoners, but at the same time has appealed to the organizers to abandon the staging of a march through the streets of Katowice after mass in the cathedral. The electors representing our association at the meeting of the collegium supported the motion recognizing that this kind of demonstration which in our opinion has not been sufficiently thoroughly prepared, could be counterproductive. This does not mean that we are giving up this form of protest, that is, public meetings, demonstrations and protest marches for the future; in this particular case we are of the opinion that if there are conditions for organizing protest public meetings within the grounds of the University of Silesia then this protest against the imprisonment of people in Poland for their political convictions should take precisely this form.

Krakow Academics Condemn March

LD251312 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1000 GMT 25 May 81

[Report by Krakow correspondent (Witold Slusarski)]

[Text] The street march against the imprisonment of people for their political views, which has been announced for today, has aroused both interest and anxiety. GAZETA KRAKOWSKA cites the statements by Stefan Bratkowski, the chairman of the Association of Polish Journalists, and Karol Malcuzynski made in yesterday's "Kontrapunkt" program broadcast on Channel 3, as well as the resolution of the lecturing staff, student electors and employee electors adopted at the election meeting of the state higher school of drama in Krakow yesterday.

Convinced, the resolution says, on the basis of numerous proofs which, unfortunately, leave no trace of doubt about the danger that the protest march in support of freedom for political prisoners to be held on 25th May could be exploited for the purpose of provocation, and at the same time believing the dramatic appeal by Stefan Bratkowski--a man who has never lied to us--and appalled by the inertia of the public at this present moment which, in our opinion, is a decisive one for the fate and dignity of the nation, we hereby appeal:

We must not remain inactive in the face of an attempt at provocation. We must not, especially at this time, show to the world that we have no will power, that we are tired, physically, psychologically and morally, that we cannot afford anymore that reflex of the instinct of self-preservation which has never let us down yet. We cannot go out into the streets in this situation. Yet another provocation must not succeed.

Szczecin Not Planning Protest

LD251552 Gdansk Domestic Service in Polish 1440 GMT 25 May 81

[Text] We have been informed at the Agricultural Academy by the Independent Students Association that Szczecin higher educational establishments have not planned for today any joint action protesting against the imprisonment of prisoners of conscience. We have established that, as of 1500, no demonstrations or rallies are being organized by the Medical Academy, Agricultural Academy, and the higher pedagogical school in Szczecin.

Students Warn of Provocateurs

LD251649 Lodz Domestic Service in Polish 1440 GMT 25 May 81

[Text] This news pertains to the protest march. A minute ago we received a declaration from the Executive Committee of the Lodz Regional Council of the Socialist Union of Polish Students. The declaration says:

We believe that the right to voice different political views constitutes one of the major post-August achievements of Polish society. Even more we are perturbed by the fact that there are in Poland persons under arrest or imprisoned for long terms for their political convictions.

However, we believe that the staging of demonstrations irrespective of the intention of the organizers could bring about unplanned results, as we all know that there are in the country forces waiting for the opportunity to provoke the situation and reverse the course of historical events unfavorable for them. We do not want a repeat of the situation of March 1968, December 1970 or June 1976.

Commentator on Provocateurs

LD251526 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 25 May 81

[Jacek Kalabinski commentary]

[Text] I wish to be proved a panic monger, just as I would like all those, beginning with Stefan Bratkowski, who had warned the students that they ought not to go out into the streets, to be proved panic mongers. They are all people who warned that not all ends justify the means, especially if, before these means have been used, everybody has hesitated--and not without reason--for as long as 9 months. They hesitated, and yet they refrained from using these means. Our peaceful Polish revolution has remained peaceful so far for the very reason that everyone has shown commonsense. The fact that the whole nation has behaved so prudently is the greatest obstacle to all those who would like to halt the course of transformations in our country, for those who have not a chance in democratic elections either in Solidarity, or in the party, or in any other democratic elections, who can reach power only by the methods of March [1968] those who would like to stage for us another march, this time in May.

People, we know this from experience, will not hesitate when faced with provocation, and one broken windowpane, one half-brick in the pocket of a provocateur may bring real disaster on our country. Now, 1 hour before the time set for the beginning of the mass and the possible street demonstrations, it is too late to bring the whole machinery to a stop. But at least it is possible to ensure that the strictest possible order prevails; it is possible to ensure—or at least try to ensure--that provocateurs do not steal their way into the first street demonstrations since August. I deliberately say: the first street demonstrations. The student organizers of the marches refer to the experience of the White March in Krahow. Yet there are differences. The White March was not aimed against anyone; the present marches are raising explicit demands. It seems to me that this time it is impossible to put the blame on the press and mass information media for having been guilty of incitement. On the contrary, there have been abundant calls for prudence, moderation and self-control. As it turns out, students chose not to listen to them. This is a pity, a great pity, but perhaps it is never too late to show commonsense. I say this from the position of a man who first felt the blows of police truncheons on his back nearly 25 year ago, in October 1957, when we, new students of that time, protested against the liquidation of [word indistinct]. And I do not mind if someone is hit by a truncheon; bruises clear and wounds heal. What is at stake is something much more important: that those who wish to set our people at variance, who want to prove to the nation and to the world outside that Poland is in the throes of anarchy, should not be given the pretext.

Radio Appeals for 'Caution'

LD251504 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 25 May 81

[Text] At 1700 a mass is to begin at the Church of St Anne. Exactly what will happen then? There are posters at the Krolewski Square in Warsaw announcing that a march will take place today under the slogan "To Free Those Imprisoned for Their Convictions". This is organized under the patronage of the young people from the Independent Students Association (NZS). Similar marches are also planned for other localities.

We do not need to be ashamed of our feelings and we do not need to hire them. In 1968 we were present when the technical university was under siege and we sang the national anthem. When we were given the text of a statement attacking the scientists who were being expelled from the University of Warsaw we said that we would not broadcast it.

Frankly, we are afraid something might happen to you. We are afraid for you because if you go into the streets you will find yourself in danger. What Stefan Bratowski, the chairman of the Association of Polish Journalists, wrote in his appeal, and what has been repeated for the last few days by the radio, is true. He is also afraid for you, just as we are. We must not forget how many issues have been already dealt with or are being dealt with thanks to reason, wisdom and courage. The working class provides dozens of such examples of such collective wisdom. [passage indistinct] They are dealing with matters which are painful to the authorities, often they cannot agree on their attitudes; they withdraw only to return to the negotiating tables.

The prisoners of conscience are also discussed there, but the workforces are not asked to go into the streets.

It is the instinct of responsibility which prompts one how to behave, what to do and what not to do. Lech Walesa said at a meeting in the Warsaw steel works in March of this year--the quotation is not very precise, but it conveys the meaning--we activists know what decisions we make, but we are after all responsible for our colleagues. We cannot expose people to danger: we must always think about the rank and file members.

It is not easy to talk an hour before something, which let us hope, perhaps will not take place, something which can get out of control. What remains is for us to ask for caution, just as if we were asking someone very dear to us. [passage indistinct]

Student Demonstrations Begin

LD251756 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 25 May 81

[Text] Today the organizations of the Independent Students Association [NZS] are embarking in many towns on a protest action against the continued detention of people imprisoned for their political convictions. In Warsaw the demonstration is coordinated by the organizing committee of NZS in the main rural husbandry school. Posters published in the capital say that after mass is celebrated in Saint Anne's Church, a protest march along the streets is to take place.

An appeal urging the demonstrators to confine the expression of views on that matter exclusively to within the walls of their own university has been issued to students, it may be recalled, by Chairman of the Association of Polish Journalists Stefan Bratkowski.

The Presidium of the factory committee of NSZZ Solidarity at Warsaw University has expressed in a posted declaration its support for the demonstration. However, it has decided that in the current situation its form is highly unsuitable and has urged Warsaw students not to organize street demonstrations in the future.

Signed open letters to colleagues urging prudence and the keeping of peace can be seen among others on the walls of the main rural husbandry school and Warsaw University.

Students' protest marches are in progress at present in Lublin. A march has also been announced in Wroclaw. On the other hand, Kielce students have confined their participation in the protest action to a statement addressed to the voivodship group of deputies.

Students demonstration in the Gdansk schools of higher learning have been cancelled after study of the appeal of Stefan Bratkiwski. Poznan students, too, intend to confine the protest action to within their universities.

Peaceful Demonstrations

LD252336 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 25 May 81

[Excerpts] In Warsaw, the student demonstration was proceeded by a mass in the university church of St Anne. Before the mass there was a brief meeting under the Zygmunt column, then the demonstrators went to Plac Zwyciewstwo to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. The text of an appeal to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic was read. An 11-person delegation went to the Sejm building, where the students handed over to Deputy Speaker of the Sejm Halina Skibniewska, in the presence of Deputy Jan Szczepanski, chiarman of the extraordinary commission for supervision of the implementation of social agreements, a petition on the cessation of repression and freeing of all political prisoners.

Demonstrations took place in an atmosphere of calm in other Polish cities, including Krakow, Lublin, Wroclaw, Opole and Bydgoszcz. The demonstrations of students of Gdansk universities were called off after the young people heard the appeal by Stefan Bratkowski. The students decided to show solidarity with the Polish student community, but within the walls of their universities. Kielce students behaved in a similar manner.

Warsaw Demonstrations

NC251746 Paris AFP in English 1741 GMT 25 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 25 May (AFP)--An estimated 5,000 to 6,000 Polish students today marched without police interference and in complete calm in a 500-yard procession here today to protest the treatment of political prisoners by authorities.

The number of students kept increasing during early evening at St. Anne Church, where a line of marchers walked to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. Unauthorized marches were also being held simultaneously in Wroclaw, Lodz, Opole, Bydgoszcz and Rzeszow.

In Warsaw, civilian marshalls diverted traffic onto adjacent streets. and not a policeman was to be seen as students and some 200 members of the independent trade union Solidarity gathered outside the church to start the march.

The marches, organized by the Independent Students Association (NZS), were called to protest the government's alleged failure to abide by the fourth point of last summer's Gdansk agreements, which covered political prisoners.

The students defied appeals by university authorities, especially in Krakow and Katowice, and a warning by Journalists' Association President Stefan Bratkowski not to go on the streets because of the risks of "provocations."

The marchers in Warsaw agreed at the last minute not to march past the Polish parliament, shortening their route and changing their destination to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, about 500 meters from the church.

The agreement was reached between students and Jan Szczepanski, the chairman of the parliamentary committee on the Gdansk and other union-government accords, during talks inside the parliament building.

One group of demonstrators carried a banner reading "The Workers of the Ursus Tractor Factory Demand the Release of Political Prisoners."

The Journalists' Association president, Mr Bratkowski, had warned that "any street demonstration risks incalculable consequences at the present time, when tension is mounting, aggravated by propaganda claiming that anarchy rules in Poland." But no incidents were reported.

The NZS is demanding in particular the release of five members of the dissident Confederation for Independent Poland (KPN). Four of them--Leszek Moczulkski, Romuald Szereniepiec, Tadeusz Stanski and Tadeusz Jandziszak--risk five years in jail for "activity hostile to the vital interests of Poland."

The students also want a free pardon for brothers Jerzy and Ryszard Kowalczyk, sentenced in 1972 to 25 years in jail for blowing up a school at Opole in southern Poland. Although it caused severe damage, the blast injured no one, and the NZS considers the sentence imposed was disproportionate to the offence and was dictated by political considerations.

The problem of political prisoners has been the subject of lengthy negotiations between the independent trade union Solidarity and the state prosecutor's office, which has so far refused to accept that those whose release is demanded by the union are "political" cases.

Five workers in the Katowice coalfield started a hunger strike last Wednesday in protest at the lack of progress, and the Solidarity-sponsored committee for the defence of those imprisoned for "crimes of opinion" has called on all its branches to start similar actions.

Demonstrations Scored

LD261208 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 26 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 26 May (PAP)--The organizers of the student demonstrations wanted to make a show of force not just to the government, but, essentially, to themselves. Every newly organized public organization, especially one having arisen on a wave of general discontent, as happened in particular in the case of the Independent Student's Association [NZS], experiences a period of "self-worship" and enchantment with its own strength, even if it does not in fact have any.

Yesterday's demonstration in Warsaw, and also in other student centers, was in my opinion, a manifestation of just such a phenomenon, writes M. Maszek in SZTANDAR MLODYCH. One got the impression that at a certain moment the demonstration which, according to a plan was to be merely a means to an end, became for its organizers simply an aim in itself.

I think, M. Maszek continued, that at a certain point the main thing was to show that the NZS is capable of organizing such a manifestation and carrying it through to the end.

The peaceful course of the demonstration might incline some people to reach out again for the same weapon in order to implement aims which are not always noble or arising from pure convictions. Since last year the Polish people have been showing enormous responsibility and steadfastness against provocations, and nobody has the right to abuse this because one day, "making politics in the streets" may end in tragedy, the article's author writes in conclusion.

Foreign Reaction

LD251336 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 25 May 81

[Text] The world is again watching Poland with growing anxiety. The announcement of the students' protest action under the slogan of freedom for political prisoners in Poland is assessed by foreign press agencies as a factor which could complicate even more the already difficult sociopolitical situation in our country. Reporting the street marches announced for today, the agencies stress at the same time that the authorities--and not only the authorities--are making attempts to forestall such action. The new increase in tension and the social (?ferment) in Poland is the subject of an AFP commentary which expressed the view that there is no indication of an early solution to the crisis which affects the Polish people in their everyday life. The agency sees the signs of a lack of stabilization in Poland primarily in the hunger strike of the five workers in Sosnowiec, who are protesting against the lack of progress in the talks conducted by Solidarity with the government on the subject of political prisoners; and the decision of the Independent Students Association on the holding of marches in the largest cities of the country in support of the freedom for political prisoners. The agency draws attention to the context of the issue involved, that is, the relations between the nation and the militia. In the opinion of the agency these relations have reached a critical point.

HUNGER STRIKERS CONTINUE PROTEST OVER PRISONERS

LD230926 Warsaw PAP in English 0811 GMT 23 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 22 May (PAP)--Five Solidarity members have been continuing since Wednesday, May 20, their hunger strike at the headquarters of the Solidarity (?union) works commission in a prefabrication plant in Sosnowiec.

They maintain they took the action to protest against the lack of progress in talks concerning political prisoners that are held between the Prosecutor's General Office and Solidarity.

TV DOCUMENTARY VIEWS POLITICAL PRISONERS QUESTION

LD250854 Warsaw PAP in English 0804 GMT 25 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 24 May (PAP)--A documentary film shot during investigations into the case of the Kowalczyk brothers was broadcast on Polish television tonight in connection with the continuing demands to release political prisoners, including Jerzy and Ryszard Kowalczyk, and a student demonstration planned for this Monday in their support.

The documentary showed evidence materials collected during investigations against the Kowalczyk brothers who had blown up the conference hall of the higher pedagogical school in Opole in October of 1971 on the eve of the national day of police and security service and were sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment.

The Polish General Prosecutor's Office told PAP last April six people were under arrest on charges of activity aimed against the basic interests of Poland and violation of the public order.

One of the persons was already released. No one is imprisoned for political offences. The case of the Kowalczyk brothers is not considered by the General Prosecutor's Office as a political case since their offences had a criminal character.

TV on KPN Activists

LD252016 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 25 May 81

[Text] I should like to go back to the month of April when the office of the Prosecutor General announced the state of the so-called political prisoners. I am using the term so-called since our legislature does not define this term. As it was determined then, we include among such prisoners those who in their actions have used political motives to commit offences against the fundamental interests of Poland or offences directed against the public order.

Then, the following were in temporary detention: Leszek Moczulski, Romuald Szereniepiec, Tadeusz Stanski and Tadeusz Jandziszak against whom, already then, indictments had been sent to the voivodship court in Warsaw because they had been involved in activities connected with the work of the organization called the Confederation of Independent Poland [KPN]. At the same time, proceedings were in progress against other persons also acting within the framework of the same organization, above all, against Zygmunt Golawski and Krzysztof Bzdyl, who were under temporary detention at that time, and also against Wojciech Zelinski and Jerzy Sychut.

Since then, the situation has changed in the sense that the first four that I mentioned continue to remain under temporary detention--that is Leszek Moczulski, Romuald Szereniepiec, Tadeusz Stanski and Tadeusz Jandziszak. The decisions concerning temporary detention as regards these persons remain outside the prosecutor's terms of reference. They are at the discretion of the court. On the other hand, within the framework of preparatory proceedings temporary detention remains in force in the case of Krzysztof Bzdyl, who, as I have already said, is also a KPN activist.

Otherwise, there have been no other persons under a temporary detention. Frequently, the question was raised of persons responsible for political offences. This continues to be so. We consider that the brothers Kowalczyk have committed a diversionary-terrorist crime. Anyway, yesterday presented their close profiles. I think it presented what they have done in concrete terms. It did not show everything.

In a relatively short program it is impossible to include all information, in that this one act did not exhaust all the activities of the brothers Kowalczyk. The omissions include a fact such as the burning of a building belonging to the neighbor of the brothers Kowalczyk in their native village. This occurred a long time before 1970 and, therefore, the association of their entire activity with the motives attributed to them must be a misunderstanding.

It is currently being said that the Kowalczyk brothers have been demonstrating against the failure to take to task persons responsible for reprisals in 1970-1971. Yesterday's program proved that their motives had nothing in common with this whatsoever. First, all the preparations for their act were carried out much earlier and their activities were much more extensive. I should also like to remind you that on 2 September no one in Poland would have been deprived of his freedom, by temporary detention, due to activities connected with any kind of political motives. This was, above all, the result of the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie agreements and on 1 September all such persons were released.

However, the KPN activists, above all, did not deem it advisable to join the agreements and have, in fact, been acting against them. It was for this reason that temporary detentions followed.

EPISCOPATE NEGOTIATING POLITICAL PRISONERS' RELEASE

LD251515 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 25 May 81

[Text] The press office of the Polish Episcopate reports:

Secretary of the Episcopate Bishop Bronislaw Dabrowski has been conducting talks for quite a long time on behalf of the primate of Poland and the Conference of the Episcopate with the state authorities on the release of political prisoners. In this matter he also held a talk today with Jerzy Bafia, minister of justice. Out of concern with the health of the arrested members of the Confederation of Independent Poland, it was established that irrespective of current medical care an urgent medical examination of these prisoners will be ordered. The results of the medical examination will be conveyed to the Secretariat of the Episcopate for possible further talks.

[Signed] Father Alojzy Orszulik.

PREPARATIONS FOR NINTH PZPR CONGRESS CONTINUE

Plant Conferences Reported

LD222210 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 22 May 81

[Excerpt] Intensive preparations are in progress throughout the PZPR for the Ninth Extraordinary Congress. A discussion and exchange of views is in progress on the essence and programmatic assumptions, and on the draft amendments and supplements to the party statute. Report-back and election conferences are taking place, at which delegates are elected to conferences at a higher level, and in large party organizations delegates are elected directly to the ninth congress.

At Tomaszow Mazowiecki, Stefan Olszowski, Politburo member and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, is taking part in a meeting with party activists at the chemical fiber works.

Kazimierz Barcikowski participated in the meeting at the Gorzowursus mechanical works which ended yesterday.

During the party conference at the Bielsko textile machine factory a new works committee was elected. The new first secretary is Andrzej (Socha) who has also received a mandate to be a delegate at the ninth congress.

The precongress discussion at the nitrogen works at Wloclawek lasted 19 hours, and at the combine of mechanical installations at Gliwice, 12 hours. Deputy Premier Andrzej Jedynak took part in the discussion.

Zabinski at Pokoj Conference

LD232030 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 23 May 81

[Text] The report-back and electoral campaign in party organizations is continuing in preparation for the ninth party congress. The works report-back and electoral conference at the Pokoj steelworks in Ruda Slaska was attended by Andrzej Zabinski, Politburo member and first secretary of the party voivodship committee in Katowice. In the discussion to formulate the directions of party activity, the need to base party work on the wisdom, initiative and responsibility of the working class was stressed. We cannot continue to count on universal orders coming from above, it was said in a self-critical manner. It is necessary to work out our own concrete actions and methods. The debate also reflects the difficult problems of the region, the need to modernize the old Pokoj steelworks, and the working conditions of the work force. The participants in the conference have addressed two letters to the central authorities. In the first they demand that the process by bringing to book former prominent personalities be ended by the beginning of the party congress, and in the second, they express their anxiety about the worsening state of security in the country.

The executive of the Warsaw PZPR Committee evaluated the progess of the electoral campaign at the Warsaw party organization. Meetings were held at almost all the primary and departmental party organizations. Also, about (?60) percent of the works conferences have also been completed. Seventy percent of the planned number of delegates to the district conferences have already been elected.

Municipal and parish conferences in the urban voivodship of Warsaw have also begun. So far, 36 delegates have been elected to the Warsaw conference, including nine workers. During the debate at the meetings and conferences, suggestions are being put forward concerning changes in the statute and opinions are being formulated about the programmatic assumptions for the ninth congress.

OLSZOWSKI DISCUSSES SITUATION WITH PZPR ACTIVISTS

LD230144 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 22 May 81

[Text] Intensive preparations for the ninth extraordinary congress continue throughout the party. Meetings and conferences of party activists are being held with the participation of party members and the economic leadership.

Yesterday [22 May] Stefan Olszowski met in Tomaszow Mazowiecki with party activists from Chemitex-Biston, the local chemical fiber plant, and also from other enterprises of the town and from Piotrkow Voivodship. Also invited were representatives of some Lodz party organizations.

Stefan Olszowski spoke on the country's current political and socioeconomic problems and on the conclusions emerging from the present situation for the party and state authorities. Referring to the seventies, Stefan Olszowski stated among other things that in the party and its ranks there existed an authentic and sharp critical movement which opposed the deformations of the past decade. If today we work out a new stance, we are to a considerable degree referring to earlier ideas which were not utilized by the party at the right time but were snatched by other forces. These ideas contain, however, an adventurous trend which sets itself objectives similar to the ideology of KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] whose long-range aim is to transform the Polish social system.

Today we should consistently lead toward a democratization of social life, a democracy, however, free from the threat of anarchy and providing foundations for a legal settlement of various spheres of life.

The situation of the country's economy is extremely dramatic. This difficult condition can and must be improved, and economic reform is the only road leading to such improvement.

[Warsaw PAP in Russian at 0300 GMT on 23 May carries a report on Olszowski's meeting with party activists in Tomaszow Mazowiecki, which adds the following paragraphs at this point:

["Touching on the international reaction to the crisis in Poland, the secretary of the Central Committee said that in the eyes of Eastern and Western countries Poland is turning into a weakened state. We cannot allow this to happen, because then we would count for nothing in Europe. We must also take into account our obligations toward our allies. S. Olszowski reminded that the main aid, in goods as well as in credits, has been given in recent months by the Soviet Union.

["In conclusion, S. Olszowski said that any public conflicts must be resolved through talks and strengthening of the state. At this point he noted that the latest cases of the violation of discipline, law and order and creation of obstacles to the functioning of militia and security services are a highly serious matter, from which only one more step would lead to anarchy."]

A broad, animated party debate is in progress on the program to be presented at the ninth congress. In this debate a great deal is being said about the need to settle all accounts with persons responsible for the present crisis. We must do this as speedily as possible, stressed Stefan Olszowski, so as to enable every honest party member to walk with his head upright and free from any accusations.

Answering numerous questions, Stefan Olszowski stated that it is imperative for the party and its leadership to maintain close ties with the working class and for the rank-and-file members of the party to be able to control the leadership's activities.

The speaker also stressed that in his view many members of the former leadership should return decorations they received, such as the Order of Builder of People's Poland.

At other meetings, too, reference was made to current economic and political problems and to concrete formulations contained in the programmatic assumptions for the ninth congress and in the new draft statute. Many utterances were bitter in tone and pertained to the past and to the experiences of confusion by rank-and-file party members.

Olszowski Comments on Police

LD230904 Warsaw PAP in English 0812 GMT 23 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 22 May (PAP)--Member of the PUWP CC Political Bureau, PUWP CC Secretary Stefan Olszowski met in Tomaszow Mazowiecki today with party activists of the local chemical fibres plant.

Olszowski stressed that all social conflicts must be resolved by means of talks and negotiations, and strengthening of the state. Simultaneously, he pointed out that the recent cases of violation of discipline, peace and order, of undermining the functioning of police and security services were a most dangerous phenomenon, a step short of anarchy.

While replying to questions asked by participants in the meeting Olszowski said that actions have been taken to upgrade the posture of the police. It must be lawful and based on discipline. A policeman must know that while acting in the majesty of law he has full support of the society. Mixed army-police patrols are going to be inaugurated. It is necessary to restore the prestige of the voluntary militia (ORMO) and to appoint citizens' patrols cooperating with the police, he stressed.

I believe that many members of the former party and state leadership should be stripped of the high distinctions they have been granted. I think that such will be the stand of the commission headed by Tadeusz Grabski, Olszowski said.

More on Olszowski

LD231556 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 23 May 81

[Excerpts] Stefan Olszowski stated in his speech in Tomaszow Mazowiecki, that working people are now becoming aware of the useful phenomenon of differentiating views, of looking for the reasons behind the crisis and at the same time for guarantees to ensure that it is not repeated. One must realize that this phenomenon is good only when we do not have debate simply for debate's sake or assessment for assessment's sake; it is good only when specific conclusions stem from this.

Those taking part in the meeting asked Stefan Olszowski many questions. Here are some of them:

Why has the case of Radom not been fully explained? Why do the government and the Politburo not make a decision concerning the hooligan goings-on and attempts to soften up the militia? How is one to understand, in the light of a Marxist interpretation of events, the fact that a few people were able to lead us to misery and the country to the brink of an abyss? Are the measures that have been taken against those who are guilty decisive? Why have the orders of Builder of People's Poland not been taken away from certain former members of the leadership who received these orders?

Stefan Olszowski replied that a report throwing more light on the Radom matter is ready and will be presented to party members in the very near future.

In stating his attitude to questions referring to himself, Stefan Olszowski said that he was one of those who before 1980 was critical on more than one occasion of the leadership of the time and who personally had to suffer the consequences of that. He stated that it is our fault that, although we were aware of the mistakes, we did not go to the factories to seek support from the workers to counter those mistakes.

Apart from questions, specific proposals also were voiced. For instance, (Maciej Kubik) presented to Stefan Olszowski a list of proposals drawn up by a team of several persons, aimed at improving the situation in the country. This list states, amongst others, the need for verifying in social consultations all phenomena relating to the leadership and the economy.

BARCIKOWSKI GORZOW MEETING, VIEWS REPORTED

'Horizontal Agreements'

LD231549 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 23 May 81

[Text] Kazimierz Barcikowski met the party aktiv of the "Chemitex-Stilon" factory in Gorzow Wielkopolski. He was asked several questions concerning the activity of the so-called horizontal structures. The secretary of the Central Committee said that one should abandon the concept of a "structure" which assumes, after all, a definite hierarchy, and replace it with the definition of "agreement." [porozumienie] He said that there is a positive attitude to "horizontal agreements." Planes of agreement are being sought. However, one must be aware that it is precisely from this side, if passions gain the upper hand over prudence, that the party might be threatened with breaking up.

Comments on Agriculture

LD221914 Zielona Gora Domestic Service in Polish 1440 GMT 22 May 81

[PZPR Politburo member Kazimierz Barcikowski's "Statement on the Situation in Polish Agriculture" during 21 May meeting with Gorzow workers' party aktivs--recorded]

[Text] I have been asked whether I knew that the agricultural situation was so bad because in the past I have been a minister, etc., etc. Comrades, I am a farmer by descent and an agronomist by education. Almost all of my work in the past has been more or less connected with agriculture. Until 1970 I was Central Committee secretary for agricultural Affairs, later minister of agriculture. In 1977 I left the Ministry of Agriculture; I resigned from the post. Let's look at the situation in agriculture. What I say may not appeal to all, but I wish to say something on the basis of my agricultural expertise.

Very considerable progress has been made during the last decade in agriculture, most noticeably during the years 1971-75, when the supplies of production means increased considerably. Thus, the application of fertilizers increased in that period from 120 kg to 160-odd kg per hectare. This increase had a very good effect on production. It must be said that the weather was favorable during that time.

The second half of the decade began worse. We had a very good Central Committee plenum, the 15th Central Committee meeting on agricultural matters. I can say with full responsibility that nothing had to be added to the results of that plenum until now. Moreover, all these so-called new proposals which are now raised from various sides, sometimes with a lot of clamor, can be found in the resolutions of that plenum.

However, the problem is not one of resolutions, but of implementation. How bad it can be they know, for instance, at Ursus [tractor works]. Why? Because we have now a discussion in Poland whether Massey-Ferguson has been a good buy or not and what should be done.

Massey-Ferguson is bad, because it is not available, because in the meantime a color television set factory has been constructed, while here investment has progressed at a snail's pace and continues to proceed at a snail's pace. Obviously, a tractor which is not there is certainly a bad tractor. It should have been working in the fields for at least 3 years. This is one example of the way the [resolutions of] the Central Committee plenum have been implemented. One could find analogous examples in the chemical industry and so forth.

Later certain mistakes were made in relation to the farmers, regarding the state farms and private farms, reducing production means and reducing (?the incentive) to produce. This must now be compensated for. But let's look at the state of agriculture not just on the basis of the effects of 1980. Here the weather had an awful effect on agriculture. I am convinced that what we are doing in agriculture now will bring results and will bear fruit in the shape of increased production.

Of course, money is not the only decisive factor. Money gives people the will to work, but in order to obtain larger production more care must be taken. Our dilemma now is that we are unable to supply agriculture with the industrial means needed for increased production, which the farmers would accept by kissing hands in return. They are complaining that these supplies are insufficient.

However, this is connected with production problems. In the future there should be no worse year than the last one. Every future year will be better than the last one. At the same time we shall experience an improvement.

What matters, however, is that production should be increased in all sectors of agriculture and these immense problems we now have in the food sector must be tackled. Despite the fact that the import of feeds and foods this year will cost us more than $1.5 billion, despite this, there is no tangible or visible improvement. The increase of our own production and a reduction of these imports would be of tremendous value for the general social situation in Poland and for the economic situation. While buying food we are unable to buy at the same time the most necessary raw materials abroad for industrial production.

SHIPYARD PARTY WORKERS CONFIDENT OF BARCIKOWSKI

LD231330 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 23 May 81

[Text] In Szczecin there has been a meeting of the party organization from section K-2 in the Adolf Warski Shipyard, in which Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the party Central Committee, the members of the section's party organization expressed a positive opinion with regard to the attitudes and activities of Kazimierz Barcikowski, especially in the light of the signed Szczecin agreement in respect of the period from August last year to the present time. The section's party organization of the section K-2 in the Szczecin shipyard accepted Kazimierz Barcikowski as a member.

JAGIELSKI QUESTIONED AT LUBLIN PLANT PARTY MEETING

AU221234 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 May 81 pp 1,2

[PAP report on speech by Mieczyslaw Jagielski, PZPR Politburo member and vice premier, at the PZPR accountability-election conference at the Lublin truck plant--date not given--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] AT THE CONFERENCE M. JAGIELSKI ANSWERED QUESTIONS. ASKED WHAT GUARANTEED SOCIALIST RENEWAL, M. JAGIELSKI SAID: "I WOULD MENTION THREE FUNDAMENTAL GUARANTEES. FIRST, THE PARTY STATUTES WHICH WILL BE ENDORSED BY THE CONGRESS. THE AMENDMENTS PROVIDED FOR IN THE DRAFT ARE DEEP AND, EVEN IF THEY WILL NOT SATISFY EVERYBODY, THEY MEET THE PROPOSALS AND POSTULATES HALF-WAY. THE SECOND GUARANTEE IS THE INTRODUCTION OF A LEGAL ORDER IN THE STATE AND RESPECT FOR THE STATE.

EVIDENCE OF THAT IS THE WORK ON MANY DRAFT ACTS WHICH ARE BEING PRESENTED TO THE SEJM. LAST BUT NOT LEAST, THE THIRD GUARANTEE IS BRINGING INTO EFFECT A GREAT ECONOMIC REFORM. By itself, the reform will not work a miracle. However, it will be comprehensive, will encompass all economic spheres, and in particular will take into account the problem of procurement [zaopatrzeniowe] prices in the sense of bringing them into line with world prices, and of retail prices which should be discussed by the public. The reform also provides for expanding the authorities of the enterprise and of its representation, as well as encompasses the disputed issues of administrative structures, which the Council of Ministers chairman will present at the nearest Sejm session."

WHILE ANSWERING THE QUESTION OF WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR DECISIONS CONCERNING THE PURCHASE OF LICENCES, THE VICE PREMIER SAID: "The licence policy is now under examination by a special commission. No purchase is anonymous. In each case there must be a proposal signed by somebody. More than a dozen questions must be answered to obtain authorization for the purchase of a licence. The organs of the prosecutor's office will examine the cases of improper licence purchasing."

M. JAGIELSKI ALSO ANSWERED SPECIFIC QUESTIONS GOING INTO VARIOUS ASPECTS OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY.

For example, asked if it was advisable to carry out joint prospecting operations for oil on the Baltic shelf, M. Jagielski said: "It is. We have been carrying joint prospecting operations not only on the Polish, but also the Soviet shelf. That seems to be advisable also because of the high costs of a drilling platform."

[Question] Why do we not exploit iron ores in Suwalki District?

[Answer] "At the moment we cannot afford the extremely high investments. But in the long run, the possession of such deposits is very valuable."

[Question] Does the practice of combining functions not make the job more difficult?

[Answer] "I share the view that it is advisable to separate party functions from state functions."

OLSZOWSKI ANSWERS QUESTIONS AT TORUN PARTY MEETING

AU221341 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 May 81 pp 4, 5

[Marek Szymanski report on Stefan Olszowski's 16 May talk at Torun: "The Plant Party Conference at Torun Elana Plant--More Than Just Answers"]

[Text] I am not interested in personal success and I am not afraid of defeat. To me this is simply making statements on the issues that you have brought up--statements consistent with my convictions, the state of my awareness and the resources of my information and views. That is why you should not fear that I may not answer all your questions.

That is how Stefan Olszowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, began his contribution to the discussion at the accountability-programmatic conference at the Torun Elana plant. As we already reported, the conference was held on 16 May and constituted the conclusion of the debates begun last January. The 16 May conference elected additional delegates to the city conference and its delegate to the Ninth PZPR Congress. Zbigniew Ciechan, secretary of the plant committee and senior production foreman, was elected as delegate.

At the beginning of the discussion, Comrade S. Olszowski was asked by a delegate to the plant conference and a foreman in an Elana shop to answer four questions: 1--on S. Olszowski's speech on television in which he described Torun as a place of anarchy; 2--on the stand the Politburo took on the Bydgoszcz events at a time when the knowledge of the events was still incomplete; 3--on the friendly countries' evaluation of the Polish situation; and 4--on the nature of the ninth congress programmatic assumptions because, as the questioner said, a cursory study offers very little.

I was acquainted on 19 May with those and other questions with the help of a recording made by the Elana plant facilities. I did not transcribe everything verbatim because some passages lacked precision. You can listen to the recording of that conference only at the Elana plant and only when it is replayed on the loudspeaker system for the first and second shift. It is obvious that such information is in great demand and not only on the part of the 1,200 members of the plant party organization and of over 7,000 plant workers. The course of the conference, and especially Comrade S. Olszowski's answers to the questions put by Foreman Prochera, created universal interest, which the rather dry and superficial PAP report carried by the press on Monday could not satisfy. That is why I went to Torun and spent several hours listening to the tapes. I selected from them what I think is most interesting and most important.

Here is the reproduction of the gist of the answers to the questions [put to S. Olszowski]:

The First Question: On Torun

It is true, Comrade S. Olszowski said, that in my TV statement when giving examples of destabilized state life, I cited cases of some "Solidarity" activities in Torun. I stand by what I said at the beginning of the year, when the Torun voivod was to be replaced. Comrade Paczkowski was proposed for the post and was attacked by placards plastered throughout the city that asserted that he could not become the voivod of Torun merely because he had been a secretary of the voivodship committee. I have always held the view and continue to hold it that if a person is the right person for a post--and we know Comrade Paczkowski is quite good at his job--then it is necessary to resist the activities aimed at discrediting a person because he has been a party activist. I maintain that view now as well. I take the view that Comrade Paczowski's candidacy for the post of voivod was a good candidacy.

The Second Question: On the Politburo's Stand on the Bydgoszcz Events

The communique issued on the Bydgoszcz events stated quite clearly that the Politburo had taken a stand based on the information available at the time. Please read the text of the communique and you will find in it such a statement. Is is possible to add anything to that stand now? I think that it should be supplemented by the statements that Comrade Stanislaw Kania, Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski and other Politburo members, including me, have made--namely, that we express our sorrow over the beating up of "Solidarity" activists in Bydgoszcz. I think that in view of that beating a definite violation of the rule of law did occur in Bydgosczc. The fact of that violation was later on recorded in the appropriate records held by the central authorities. I have in mind the report drawn up by the minister of justice and the text of the so-called Warsaw agreement, which rounded off the issue of the Bydgoszcz events, although, as we know, a team composed of government and "Solidarity" officials--which will finally resolve the issue--is still at work.

I would like to ask the comrades not to regard the Politburo statements as the only document issued by the central authorities for examination by you. There are also other documents, which I have already mentioned, that should be examined. They were drawn up and published not without participation of the Politburo. [as published]

However, I would like to state that I regard it as reprehensible to organize sit-ins on the premises owned by the state, to try to take over and occupy such premises and to organize demonstrations inside them. Have there been any other events such as those in Bydgoszcz? Yes, there have been such events in other places. For example, the offices of the town and rural parish authority were taken over in Ustrzyki Dolne and the town hall in Nowy Sacz was also occupied. It is unfortunate that similar cases of occupation also occurred in other towns and places. Such actions have nothing to do with the rule of law, but if we want to seriously discuss the issue of the rule of law then we must agree that it should be binding on both sides. The rule of law must be binding in the same way on the apparatus of power, the citizen militia, the security service and the social organizations of citizens. Is that always the case? It seems to me that it is not always the case, and you know it too.

As for the Bydgoszcz events I would also like to say that no doubt--I am saying this from the positions of self-criticism--our information policy has certainly made errors, especially during the first days following the Bydgoszcz incidents.

The Third Question: On the Evaluation of the Situation in Poland

Problems take on one appearance from the state's viewpoint and another appearance from the viewpoint of, say, a single party organization.

Our allies are subject to many anxieties, but we must realize that--looking at our position from the viewpoint of the current pattern of the world--we cannot help but take into account a number of observations made by our fraternal parties and countries. In the first place those observations apply to our obligations as allies, and yet Poland has become a weakened country, and that is a fact beyond any shadow of doubt. That is what is making our allies anxious. These are serious problems, you know.

And what about our economic obligations? As of last January we have not sold to the Soviet Union a single ton of coal, and yet we have been taking from it crude oil all along. That is a fact. Someone may say that, after all, one day we will be able to pay for that oil. Yes, that is true, but as things are now, we continue to take and take. The same situation exists in other spheres. For example, we have stopped supplying the Soviet Union with sulfur, but at the same time we continue to take natural gas from it. The other socialist countries are already beginning to balance their supplies: in terms of value, every quarter they supply us with as much as we supply them. So far the Soviet Union has taken no such measure toward us.

The Fourth Question: On the Programmatic Assumptions for the Precongress Discussion

The programmatic assumptions have not been drawn up by a single person. I think that those assumptions have a good many loopholes, but, on the other hand, they contain many correct ideas. The materials they represent should be so enriched and so improved during the precongress discussions that they can be used as a basis for the resolutions to be passed by the Ninth PZPR Congress. As the head of the Secretariat of the congress commission, I welcome--in that context--every critical and constructive improvement or amendment. I think that congress materials should be improved and that this is the task of the congress team.

However, there is another view that I cannot acquiesce in--it is the issue of evaluating the period of the seventies. After all, we should realize that the first years of that period were years of great hopes shared by all of us. As a matter of fact our misfortunes began during the first party conference when the level of investments was raised by Z400 billion, a burden that our economy was simply unable to support. Those additional investments threw our economy out of balance, especially in view of the fact that their structure was very bad. That state of affairs was a result of the erroneous assumption made, especially by Comrade Edward Gierek, and also by Comrade Piotr Jaroszewicz, that because it was easy to obtain loans in the West, such loans should be contracted at will and as inflation was reigning in the West, such loans would become cheaper and good business would be made with them. At that time I was employed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and we kept warning against such a policy. We pointed out that some of our creditors, like the Berliet firm in France, lacked honesty. We continued to stress that some capitalist countries had stopped taking loans precisely because of recession, which made such loans dangerous, and that many developed countries had stocks of finished machinery and equipment and got rid of them with relish. Our economic leadership continued to blindly acquire that machinery and equipment, and this is a matter of very serious responsibility. However, I think that if that investment change had not been made in 1974, our economic policy would have developed along more correct lines.

How can we get out from the present crisis-like situation?

I am convinced there is no other way out except through economic reform. It is no longer possible to continue administering by central directives, and the reform must be carried out as soon as possible, without delays until an economic equilibrium is attained.

A reform only good for the period of equilibrium would, evidently, be worthless. It must work both in difficult and easy situations.

Where do we start?

First of all, from the central administration. The proposals are as follows: To combine several economic production ministries into one. What we have in mind here are the Ministries of Machine Engineering Industry, of Heavy and Agricultural Machine Industry and of Mining. Moreover, steps have been taken to date to set up a Ministry for Maritime Economy rather artificially attached to the Foreign Trade Ministry. There is a proposal to attach maritime economy to the Ministry of Transport; however, for example, from the viewpoint of fishing that would be absurd. There is also a proposal to subordinate the Polish National Bank to the Sejm in order to improve control over the economy. There are also a number of other ideas, which the Commission for Reform Affairs will present at the next Sejm session.

Thus we start from the top, from cuts in the central apparatus. The same must also apply to many associations. But changes must not be made there overnight.

We would be well advised to pay much heed in the precongress discussion to the question of where we are to get our daily bread. This year we have been threatened by a 14-percent decline in our national income. This is a catastrophe. How do we increase wages under such circumstances? How do we control the domestic market? Is there any chance of preventing such a deep decline? I think such a deep decline could be prevented. This depends on how we use available potential and how good this year's agriculture will be.

With that the Central Committee secretary exhausted the questions addressed to him directly and expected to be answered. But pronouncements voicing doubts, criticism and growing concern among party members and the public as a whole were also made in the rather animated discussion. Here are some selected pronouncements made by Comrade Olszowski not in connection with the questions, but with what was voiced in the discussion.

About Information Policy

I have heard many critical remarks on this subject both here and at many other conferences. I do not mind listening to them, but I would be grateful if the critics, who reveal all sorts of evils in information policy, could see fairly that in the press and television the range of information has significantly expanded. Radio matters are somewhat worse, because of the contradictions, occasionally substantial, between individual newscasts. I would also like them to see that we are now heading for new civil acts, including control regulations over the press and public entertainment. Our idea is that policy in this field should be regulated by two acts: on control over publications and public entertainment, and on the press law [prawo prasowe].

This means that we want to be reasonable in restricting freedom to where it is absolutely necessary both for the state and the public. Hence, the proposal to apply restrictions in the drafts to issues that go against state independence or territorial integrity, against the constitutional system or our alliances; to protect state, economic and defense secrets; and to protect religious feelings. We propose restrictions to eliminate immorality: pornography, alcoholism, cruelty and racial or national discrimination.

But the drafts also leave a broad margin of freedom in publications. In our opinion, speeches by Sejm deputies and council members, all sorts of normative acts, maps, statistical publications, school textbooks and didactic papers issued by scientific institutions and schools where priests are trained should be free of control. It has also been proposed to exempt from control publications by scientific research institutes and their publishing houses.

About Attacks Against the Socialist State

In view of our geographic position in Europe, we cannot afford to be a weak state.

If we are "the sick man of Europe," our significance will, sooner or later, sink ever lower. That is why it is so important to raise the country's economic level, while simultaneously consolidating its political institutions. The particular point is that those institutions be democratic and that the state be strong through the consciousness of its citizens.

That idea of a state is subject to attacks by some members of the Social Self-Defense and, unfortunately, by some adventurist representatives of Solidarity, who are under the influence of the former.

About the Need for Settling Accounts

But someone could say that much harm to socialism has been caused by those who brought the country to the brink of a catastrophe. Indeed, that is true. And here let me proceed to the issue of responsibility which must be absolutely enforced, but in a way befitting a cultured, civilized country. The commission with Comrade Grabski at the head intends to complete its work before the end of June. At its next session it will examine Edward Gierek's responsibility.

The accountability and election meeting at the "Elan" plant in Torun lasted several hours. Those were useful hours. In the reporter's opinion, a certain move was noticeable in the direction of concreteness. We seemed to switch over from such terms as "it is necessary," "it is advisable" and so forth to decisions, at least in an embryonic state. It is rather late, but even so it is good we have reached that state. The 9th congress will be held within less than 2 months. That time must be used in a really business-like and concrete way.

MEETINGS CALL FOR GUILTY MEMBERS TO GET JUSTICE

LD260948 Warsaw PAP in English 0820 GMT 26 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 25 May (PAP)--A discussion forum at the PUWP voivodship committee in Katowice adopted a resolution which states among other things that over the years the ideological-political disarming of the party was progressing. It is because of this principal reason that since August 1980 the party has proved itself unable to take up decisive and determined struggle against all phenomena and tendencies alien and hostile to socialism.

The party, under pressure of alien ideological influences patronized by right-wing opportunism and bourgeois liberalism, has lost its ideological-political and programmatic line of struggle for socialism. The success of the struggle against right-wing opportunism and opponents of socialism depends first of all on the change of situation in the party itself. The full bringing to accountability of those guilty of departure from the ideological, moral and ethical principles of communism, as well as of distortions and deformities is the necessary condition of strengthening the party.

The 9th extraordinary party congress is not far away. Energetic action is necessary if we have to succeed in defending the proper image of the party and counteract trends and tendencies alien to the class.

It is still possible gradually to prepare the party's ideological-political offensive. For this only will make it possible to take over the initiative in the current ideological and political struggle waged against the enemies of socialism, says the resolution of the Katowice forum.

Already 90 percent of party organizations in the Piotrkow Voivodship have held their report-election conferences. Participants in these conference demanded that persons found guilty should bear political consequences and be punished under law.

Individual party talks held in about 70 percent party organizations in the Biala Podlaska Voivodship are an important part of preparations for the congress.

The voivodship party organization is nearly 20,000 strong. Since July last more than 1,000 party members have returned their cards. At the same time, more than 1,000 members have been expelled from the party.

Participants in the conferences held in the Leszno Voivodship pointed out in particular that in the past recruitment of the leading cadres in the party and state administration was wrongly done. Postulaes called for the party control commission to be made independent of the PUWP authorities. Party meetings and conferences emphasize that it is necessary consistently to subordinate the party apparatus to elective authorities. Discussions also focus on the complex problems of cooperation of party links with the trade union links, including Solidarity.

Conferences held in Wroclaw's biggest workers' area and the city centre opened up a successive stage of the PUWP report-election campaign in that city. The issues raised included critical evaluation of the past, enumerated conditions for restoring party prestige in the society. Speakers demanded that all members of the former party leadership guilty of errors and abuses should be consistently called to account.

PROGRESS OF REPORT-BACK, ELECTION CONFERENCES

LD252108 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 25 May 81

[Text] In the resolution adopted by the PZPR works' report-back and election conference at the Sznowiec coalmine, the miners' proposal that a representative of their mother organization should be included in the commission formed at the 10th plenum of the party Central Committee which established the personal responsibility of the members of the former leadership of the party. They justify their decision by Edward Gierek's membership of their organization.

The participants in the conference also decided that the delegate elected by them to the ninth extraordinary party congress, Kazimierz (Lejman) should be the representative of their commission. Our representative, it was stressed during the discussion at the conference, should give us complete information in the matter. We must know at first hand how personal responsibility of the former first secretary of the party Central Committee for what has happened in the country is assessed.

A discussion forum at the party voivodship committee in Katowice adopted at its recent session a declaration and resolution concerning the party, the obfuscating of the real character and essence of counterrevolution, and also concerning the mass media. For many years, the declaration says among other things, the ideological-political disarmament of the party was progressing. This constituted one of the fundamental causes of the fact that since August of last year the party proved to be incapable of undertaking a decisive and consistent struggle against all manifestations of phenomena and tendencies that are alien and hostile to socialism.

The all party report-back and election campaign before the ninth extraordinary party congress is at an important stage of summing up experiences and defining concrete tasks at works' party organizations and also at voivodship, municipal and municipal-parish organizations. Party members are striving to work out a program for overcoming the crisis, a program that would contain at the same time a guarantee of not allowing mistakes and the breaking of the principles of socialist democracy to occur in the future.

Report-back and election conferences have now taken place at all works' party organizations in the Voivodship of Piotrokow Trybunalski. The last to hold a session was the conference at the Pioma mining machines plant in Piotrokow Trybunalski. The question of the settling of accounts dominated the discussion.

The report-back and election campaign of the principal party organizations in Biala-Podlaska Voivodship is coming to an end. Municipal and municipal-parish conferences have begun in Leszno Voivodship.

RADIO, TV COMMITTEE ELECTS DELEGATE TO CONGRESS

LD232036 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 23 May 81

[Text] A party program and electoral conference was held at the radio and television committee. The participants at the session devoted a lot of their time in the debate to matters of information and journalism in radio and television programs. The programmatic assumptions for the Ninth PZPR Congress have been critically evaluated by the conference participants, in particular in the part which deals with the functions of the mass media.

Editor Jacek Snopkiewicz has been elected as a delegate to the ninth congress. In accordance with a resolution of the 10th plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, a works' party control commission has been established. The conference was attended by Jozef Klasa, head of the Press, Radio and Television Department of the party Central Committee.

BIELSKO BIALA PZPR COMMITTEE HOLDS PLENUM

LD221612 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 22 May 81

[Text] Today's plenary deliberations of the voivodship party committee in Bielsko Biala dealt with an examination of the tasks facing the voivodship party organization before the 9th extraordinary party congress and preparations for the voivodship party conference.

According to Jerzy Watroba, organizational secretary of the voivodship who delivered the programmatic report to the voivodship party executive committee, the plenary session is taking place halfway through the report back and election campaign in party organizations in the Podbeskidzie area where more than 1,500 primary and branch party organizations have staged the elections of new executives and secretaries. Lower attendance figures were noted at party conference.

According to preliminary assessments, more than 60 members and candidate members of the voivodship PZPR committee (?plenum), including the entire leaderships of the town committees of Bielsko Biala and (?Zywiec), have not received in their mother organizations mandates for representing (?them) at town, urban parish and voivodship party conferences. One of the reasons for the unwillingness to stand as candidate, particularly among workers, is the fact that trust toward the party and (?party) activists has been considerably undermined. The plenum has adopted a resolution defining the tasks for the voivodship party organization before the 9th party congress and at the same time has set a date for the voivodship party conference: the second half of June.

JELENIA GORA PARTY CONFERENCE ENDS 24 MAY

LD241244 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 24 May 81

[Text] The report-back and election conference of the Jelenia Gora town PZPR organization ended this morning after nearly 22 hours of debate. A new party leadership and new delegates to the voivodship conference were elected and the program of work in the new term of office mapped out.

ELECTION CONFERENCES IN POLISH CITIES PROCEED

LD242236 Warsaw PAP in English 2033 GMT 24 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 24 May (PAP)--Report-and-election conferences of PUWP branches in work establishments, rural communes and at town level as activities of PUWP congress-organizing commissions in voivodships stay in the focus of attention of party members and non-party people.

Speaking at a conference in Pokoj foundry in Silesia, Andrzed Zabinski, PUWP first secretary in Katowice Voivodship, stressed the enormous importance of the 9th congress, which was being prepared in conditions of economic crisis and in a politically complicated situation. He also spoke of the international conditionalities of the process of renewal. He voiced the belief that the 9th congress will declare itself in favour of strengthening the Marxist-Leninist character of the PUWP, in favour of real socialism, strengthening of Poland's alliance with the USSR, that it will work out an effective programme of coming out of the crisis.

At a PZL-Kalisz plant in Kawsz, central Poland, speakers dealt, among other things, with possibilities and needs of horizontal integration of party organizations. They also found the document of party election rules unacceptable in many points.

The conference Nowotko steel mill in Kielce Voivodship lasted for more than 18 hours. Discussion was tough, speakers demanded a decisive change in the style of work of party authorities of all levels. The authorities should inspire, argue, and equitably control, rather than give orders, is the conclusion of the conference.

The conference at Rudna copper mine in Legnica copper basin postulated that the 9th congress deal with both intraparty matters and Poland's economic questions. Speakers were often critical of too slow a pace of taking to account of those responsible for the current crisis and oversize structure of the party apparatus.

Speaking to the report and election conference at the Polish radio and TV committee Jozef Klasan, head of media department at the PUWP CC, said that the most urgent task for the party was to formulate a programme which would unite the society and be credible.

The conference of the PUWP city branch in Jelenia Gora lasted for twenty hours and gave a critical assessment of the performance of its retiring executive. Voices of disappointment were also heard at the conference in Zlotow, Pila Voivodship, where speakers complained of great difficulties standing in the path of renewal in their voivodship, and they gave as an example what they described as the continuing "merry-go-round" rotation of cadres in executive posts.

The executive of Warsaw's PUWP Committee heard a report on the course of the campaign saying that 70 percent of the newly elected authorities of PUWP basic and factory organizations in Warsaw were newcomers to these posts. 23 students, 7 professors and 2 managers were elected to the PUWP committee at the higher school of social sciences at the PUWP CC in Warsaw.

CONTENTS OF NEW PZPR STATUTE NOTED

LD242246 Warsaw PAP in English 2016 GMT 24 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 24 May (PAP)--The draft of the new statute of the Polish United Workers Party contains major changes, amendments and more precise formulations which affect nearly half of the former text. As is the case with the programme assumptions for the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress, also the draft statute is open to comments, opinions, and proposals and will receive its final shape at the 9th congress.

The changes are intended to, first of all, broaden the rights of PUWP members--particularly their right to come up with and defend their own opinions--as well as those of basic party cells. Much wider powers have also been proposed for elective party authorities. Their rights as regards supervision over executive bodies have been specified in a definite way. This applies also to the proposed powers and duties of the party's Central Committee, its Political Bureau, Secretariat and first secretary.

Other proposed changes include the addition of three new chapters dealing with intraparty democracy and democratic cnetralism, electoral principles, and the party in the system of socialist democracy.

The draft envisages wider powers of party control commissions and party audit commissions, modifies certain rules of personnel policy, contains new formulations concerning the role of party apparatus vis-a-vis party authorities and branches, as well as concretization of statutory principles concerning intraparty life.

PZPR DOCUMENT DISCUSSES CAUSES OF 1981 CRISIS

LD251206 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 25 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 25 May (PAP)—One of the sections of the PZPR program document, entitled "The Sources and Nature of the Crisis," which is being discussed in the party ranks and in Polish society, says in particular that the crisis of 1981 had been growing for years and that the departures from the principles of socialism which caused it had not only temporal but also structural causes.

These temporal causes are the incompetence of the country's economic leadership, which was selected arbitrarily and in which decisions were influenced by regional and departmental pressure groups; the contradiction between the structures for managing the national economy--which were not reformed--and the qualitatively new level of production of forces; and the unwillingness of the party leadership to develop internal party democracy or to implement certain political reforms which would have made the state authorities accountable to the working class and people.

Dwelling on the reasons for the crisis, the document sees one of them as the fact that in the period 1948-1949 there were too many distortions in the social and political system of Poland which were never fully overcome (either in 1956 or 1971). They included a weak democracy, the prevalence of bureaucratic centralism and the absence of party control over the leadership.

The results of this included loss of public control over the organs of authority, especially the government; arbitrary formation of economic and social policy; many erroneous decisions; disregard of reality and ignoring economic difficulties that had been growing since 1975, influenced by the foreign recession.

Public discontent has increased as a result of both the economic situation and the incompetence and demoralization of some leading cadres, which have led to a profound crisis of confidence in the leadership of the country and in the political institutions.

On the tide of this discontent groups have been activated which attack the foundations of the system as well as the international alliances of the Polish People's Republic. The opponents of socialism are trying to snatch the leadership of some sections of the trade union movement and to penetrate other circles.

The distortions that arose in the 1970's and their consequences are not a crisis of socialism but the consequence of ignoring and violating its principles, notes the document which is being ardently discussed at the party meetings that are taking place before the Ninth PZPR Congress.

TRYBUNA LUDU VIEWS PZPR'S EFFORTS AT RENEWAL

AU211331 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 May 81 pp 3, 4

[Zbigniew Siedlecki article: "My Contribution to Precongress Discussion--The Line of Renewal"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] THE COMING PZPR SPECIAL CONGRESS HAS ATTRACTED OUR SOCIETY'S ATTENTION, ESPECIALLY EVER SINCE THE 10TH CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM FIXED ITS EXACT DATE. OUR SOCIETY IS INTERESTED IN THAT CONGRESS BECAUSE IT REALIZES AFTER ALL THAT IN A COUNTRY WHOSE CONSTITUTION PROVIDES FOR THE PARTY'S LEADING ROLE, CONGRESS DECISIONS AND SOLUTIONS WILL BE OF DECISIVE SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE FURTHER COURSE OF EVENTS.

That is why we attach enormous hopes to that congress. In Poland's present political and economic situation that congress must not become a congress of unfulfilled hopes, as--unfortunately--the recent eighth congress was. The coming congress must meet the hopes of the 3 million-strong party and 35 million Poles.

However, we should bear in mind that no congress, not even an extraordinary congress, can by itself produce new political values. A congress proclaims political solutions; it does not produce them, just as a scientific congress does not produce scientific discoveries. Party congresses sum up the party's political and ideological achievements--the achievements of the party's collective wisdom--and approve of them by bestowing on them the status of programmatic resolutions and changes in the statutes. It goes without saying that such a summing up, or rather taking advantage of, those achievements creates a new quality, provides the party with new and greater opportunities for activity and outlines more extensive programmatic prospects.

THAT IS WHY WE MUST REALIZE THAT THE RESULTS OF THE NINTH SPECIAL CONGRESS, TO WHICH WE ATTACH SUCH GREAT HOPES, HAVE ALREADY BEEN PREJUDGED BY WHAT WE HAVE ACHIEVED IN THE PARTY SINCE LAST AUGUST AND WILL BE PREJUDGED BY WHAT WE WILL ACHIEVE IN THE PERIOD UP TO THE CONGRESS IN JULY.

When the August agreements were being signed all the conscious party members realized that it was necessary to convene an extraordinary congress. The Sixth Central Committee Plenum made a decision on that in the first days of September 1980. The congress will be held in July, that is within about 11 months after it became necessary to hold a congress, although the term "extraordinary" means that it should have been convened as speedily as possible.

The need to convene an extraordinary congress was primarily dictated by the need to elect new Central Committee members and other party authorities. Firstly, although the fifth plenum made changes in the Central Committee, it still contained the activists who had been more or less responsible for bringing about the country's catastrophe. It should also be remembered that the eighth congress made only small changes in the Central Committee. Secondly, as Comrade Mieczyslaw Moczar said at the 10th Central Committee Plenum, the eighth congress was an "organized manipulation," which was responsible for the fact that the Central Committee elected by the eighth congress was not fully representative and party members could not have complete confidence in it. Nor were they able to have that confidence after all the statutory opportunities to make changes in that Central Committee had been used. The lack of confidence continued to create turmoil in the party organization which increased as party members waited for an extraordinary congress to put an end to such an abnormal situation.

Delaying the congress was connected with efforts to make careful preparations for it, which were entrusted to the Congress Commission at the Sixth Central Committee Plenum. Some party organizations had reservations regarding the composition of that commission and the manner in which it had been appointed. They were probably right, because it is impossible to regard the speed of its work and its ability to digest the ideas and proposals that make up what the Sixth Central Committee Plenum defined as the party's collective wisdom, as sufficient.

In my article published in March in TRYBUNA LUDU issue 71 entitled "What the Party Should Be," I wrote: "...One may be afraid that if the Congress Commission is unable to promptly cope with digesting the results of the conclusions reached by the most militant worker and intelligentsia party organizations, the grassroots pressure will continue to increase, and it is not out of the question that the Congress Commission will simply lose its initiative under the weight of that pressure."

THAT IS PRECISELY WHAT HAS OCCURRED, AND THAT IS WHY THE CONGRESS DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED AFTER THE 10TH CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM PROVIDE NO SATISFACTION EITHER FOR THEIR AUTHORS, WHO--AS IS OLVIOUS FROM THE DISCUSSION AT THE CONGRESS COMMISSION'S SESSION AND AT THE 10TH CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM--ARE AWARE OF THE IMPERFECTION OF THEIR WORKS, OR FOR PARTY ORGANIZATIONS BECAUSE THE DOCUMENTS IN QUESTION HAVE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT THESE ORGANIZATIONS' MOTIONS AND PROPOSALS TO A LESSER EXTENT THAN WAS GENERALLY EXPECTED.

Workers' party organizations loudly proclaimed their dissatisfaction with the results of the Ninth Central Committee Plenum. The delegations of those party orgnaizations even made attempts--inadmissible in the normal run of things and without precedence in the party way of life--to control the course of the 10th Central Committee plenum. Some organizations are also disappointed with the results of the 10th plenum. What is the reason for that?

In the long Polish summer, PZPR members received two tremendous, shattering blows. The first was the revelation that it was E. Gierek's team that brought Poland to the brink of a catastrophe, and that it had not only yielded to demoralization itself (occasionally to the extent of abusing power for personal advantages), but also exerted demoralizing influence on some cadres. That was a shattering blow which was followed by another, even stronger blow; namely, nonparty workers, and particularly members of the new trade unions, charged the party organizations, within the range of their activity, with responsibility for everything in general which the party was responsible for. Those blows caused a paralyzing shock in the party, making it unfit for efficient activity.

That was not surprising. On the contrary, it was surprising that, after a relatively short period of blackouts and inertia, party organizations began to recover and rise. The workers' main body in the party proved to be stronger that it was supposed to be; it proved to stand firmly on the grounds of its ideological, political and moral principles. The workers' main body demanded digging those principles out and cleaning the layers of deviations, deformations and moral dirt from them.

IT IS TO BE EMPHASIZED THAT WORKERS' PARTY ORGANIZATIONS ROSE TO THEIR FEET BY THEIR OWN EFFORTS. HIGHER ECHELONS DID NOT HELP THEM MUCH TO DO THAT, BECAUSE IN THAT PERIOD THEY APPLIED THE WORST POSSIBLE TACTICAL RULE; NAMELY, THE RULE TO DEFEND ALL POSITIONS, INCLUDING THOSE LOST IN ADVANCE, AND, WHAT WAS EVEN WORSE, TO YIELD POSITIONS WHICH WERE SUPPOSED TO BE DEFENDED TO THE BITTER END. HAVING PROCLAIMED THE SLOGAN OF CONSOLIDATION ON THE BASIS OF SOCIALIST RENEWAL, A SLOGAN THAT HAS BEEN THE MOST CAPTIVATING AND THE MOST IMPORTANT IN THE POST-AUGUST PARTY LIFE, THE SIXTH PLENUM MET HALFWAY THAT PROCESS OF RECOVERY FROM INERTIA AND OF PARTY ORGANIZATIONS' RISING.

The rising of party organizations after the two knockout blows, the recovery of political presence and of the ability to act were motivated and at the same time incited--first--by the very sharp protest against the deformations and deviations in party life, as well as against the moral decay of many figures, and--second--by the need to assume responsibility before working colleagues for the party and for its mistakes. That was the need of the highest rank, because it stemmed from the fact that the PZPR is a party of the workers class, and thus it is, under any circumstances, subject to the judgement of its class.

Certainly, that was not the responsibility meant by Gierek's propaganda, which turned that term into a nicer synomym of obedient execution of instructions, but common responsibility for what one does and what one consents to, and thus linked with the scope of one's decisions. To take responsibility for party means--literally, and not figuratively--to determine the shape of the party, its activity and all essential matters which, before, used to be manipulated out of the range of decisions taken by party organizations and were practically reserved for the so-called leadership of party echelons at various levels. That also means that workers' party organizations will no longer sign blank checks for the benefit of anyone or for anything.

THAT WAS EXPRESSED IN VARIOUS--SIMPLE OR MORE ELABORATE, MORE OR LESS SUBSTANTIATED--PROPOSALS AND DECISIONS THAT COULD BE REDUCED TO THREE FUNDAMENTAL POSTULATES: TO BRING TO ACCURATE AND STRICT ACCOUNT ALL FIGURES WHO FAILED TO JUSTIFY THE PARTY'S CONFIDENCE, TO BRING ALL OF THEM TO ACCOUNT WITHOUT ANY EXCEPTION, NO MATTER WHAT POSTS THEY HAD; TO PROFOUNDLY AND CONSISTENTLY DEMOCRATIZE PARTY LIFE; AND TO WORK OUT STATUTORY PROVISIONS GUARANTEEING THE PARTY AGAINST ANOTHER CRISIS.

THOSE DEMANDS PRESENTED BY THE WORKERS' MAIN BODY IN THE PARTY HAVE DEFINED THE SUBSTANCE OF THE SLOGAN ABOUT CONSOLIDATING THE PARTY, AND HAVE TRACED A KIND OF LINE FOR THE PARTY MASSES, THE LINE OF PARTY RENEWAL.

Unfortunately, at the beginning political invigoration only encompassed workers' party organizations at larger enterprises or concentrated on intellectuals' organizations at large higher schools and scientific institutes. But smaller organizations in areas industrially underdeveloped, and particularly rural organizations, remained passive for a longer time. Thus invigoration was progressing in patches, because party authorities only here and there were able, in accordance with their duties, to combine various organizations into politically uniform structures. Naturally enough, those patches then began to span bridges between them, the so-called horizontal structures.

Many figures watched the formation of those horizontal structures with suspicion and dislike. It was said that they were substituting, in an arbitrary way, for party authorities, and comrades organizing them were even accused of factional activities. Obviously, that met with vehement denials and counter-accusations of conservatism, adherence to the hard line and opposition to party renewal.

DISLIKE AND SUSPICIONS WERE JUSTIFIED WHEREVER STATUTORY NORMS AND GOOD PARTY BEHAVIOR WERE DISREGARDED, AND WHEREVER THERE WAS TOO MUCH NOISE RAISED PARTICULARLY BY COMRADES NOT SUFFICIENTLY FAMILIAR WITH THE COMPLEXITIES OF INTERNAL PARTY LIFE IN THE PZPR. BUT COMRADES ORGANIZING HORIZONTAL STRUCTURES WERE THOSE WHO INVIGORATED THE WORKERS' MAIN BODY IN THE PARTY, AND ATTACKS AGAINST THEM WERE ATTACKS AGAINST THE REBIRTH OF THE PARTY, AGAINST SOCIALIST RENEWAL. OBJECTIVELY SPEAKING, THAT WAS AN ANTIPARTY ACTIVITY, EVEN WHEN IT WAS SUBJECTIVELY MOTIVATED BY FEARS OF JEOPARDIZING THE FUNDAMENTAL VALUES AND PRINCIPLES OF THE PARTY, OR SIMPLY BY THE DESIRE TO STEER THE PARTY BACK TO THE STATE BEFORE AUGUST 1980.

I have used the past tense in that case because--although many most active workers organizations are showing their disappointment--the most recent 9th and 10th Central Committee plenums adopted the postulates put forward by the party's worker backbone. Those postulates included a democratic election procedure to ensure that the aktivists who have lost the masses' trust will not be elected. That procedure makes it possible for large workers' and higher schools' party organizations to directly elect twice as many congress delegates as was the case with the previous congresses.

The postulates in question also took care of speeding up the proceedings against the Central Committee members commission has been set up to deal with those accusations. Other results of those demands include changes in the Politburo in that workers have been introduced into it, the fixing of the congress' date, and the opening of the discussion on congress materials. It is true that, as I mentioned at the beginning of this article, those materials were not received enthusiastically, but nevertheless they continue to be published in the conviction that the discussion will modify them along the lines postulated by the most active party organizations.

IT CAN THEREFORE BE SAID THAT THE LINE OF THE MASSES HAS BECOME THE LINE OF THE NINTH PZPR EXTRAORDINARY CONGRESS, AND THAT THE CONFLICT WHICH THE BOURGEOIS JOURNALISTS DEFINED AS A STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE PARTY "GRASSROOTS" AND THE PARTY "TOP," BUT WHICH WAS IN FACT AN ACUTE DISPUTE FOR THE CONTENT AND DEPTH OF THE PARTY'S RENEWAL, HAS CALMED DOWN. IT CAN ALSO BE SAID THAT THE HORIZONTAL STRUCTURES HAVE FULFILLED THEIR TASK, WHICH DOES NOT AT ALL MEAN THAT THEY SHOULD CEASE TO EXIST, BECAUSE PRACTICE HAS DEMONSTRATED THAT SOME OF THEM--THE COMMUNITY HORIZONTAL STRUCTURES, FOR EXAMPLE--HAVE EVERY RIGHT TO EXIST WITHIN THE PARTY NOT ONLY IN THE PERIOD BEFORE AN EXTRAORDINARY CONGRESS, BUT ALSO IN WHOLLY NORMAL TIMES.

If the line of the masses has become the line of the ninth congress, then what else do we want? Why are many workers' party organizations disappointed? Why are many workers' party organizations disappointed? Why is there still turmoil at the party grassroots level? I think that in replying to those questions it is not enough to justify that disappointment by the fact that the 10th plenum's congress documents represent half-measures, that the extent of the politburo changes was less than expected and that the course of squaring accounts with the aktivists who must be investigated is still too slow.

It seems to me that the main reason for that disappointment is the rather universal conviction that the line of the masses has been imposed on the Central Committee.

Can the implementation of an imposed line be effective? people ask. And--this a general question--can the party that should lead the people (the party's worker backbone has no doubts on this score) at this historical junction of overcoming difficulties--that is, organizing the process of renewing Polish public life--implement that line by merely agreeing to renewal instead of being its chief driving force?

SOMETHING GREAT HAS HAPPENED: THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS HAVE NOT ONLY RECOVERED FROM THE BLOWS THAT WERE ENOUGH TO CRUSH THEM, BUT HAVE ALSO BEEN CONSOLIDATED, GAINED IN STRENGTH AND BECOME AS ACTIVE AS EVER IN THE ENTIRE OVER 30-YEAR HISTORY OF THE PZPR. THEY HAVE INITIATED A PROCESS OF OUR PARTY REBIRTH, A PROCESS THAT GIVES HOPE THAT THE PARTY WILL BECOME POLITICALLY STRONGER THAN EVER BEFORE AND WILL BE MORE PROFICIENT THAN EVER BEFORE IN LEADING THE WORKERS CLASS AND ALL THE PEOPLE. BUT MANY AKTIVISTS HAVE BEEN FRIGHTENED BY THAT PROSPECT AND ARE PARTICIPATING RATHER PASSIVELY IN THE PROCESS THAT THEY SHOULD STIMULATE AND ENCOURAGE IN EVERY WAY AND WITH THE GREATEST JOY.

The atmosphere of excitement on account of the internal party differences is natural if we consider that almost throughout the entire history of the PZPR differences of views within the party have been carefully concealed and have been disclosed only when the leading teams were replaced. Differences in views during discussions at the meetings of party branches are a new thing in the practice of party life and attract attention. We should get used to them because they will become a permanent and normal feature of the reborn party's life. After all, only clashes of contradictions make it possible to reach meaningful conclusions.

That is why there is nothing strange in the fact that--despite the results of the 9th and 10th Central Committee plenums, which are positive in that they have reduced the differences in views--the dispute about the depth and speed of the process of the party's democratization has only calmed down instead of dying out completely. An open dispute, especially on such a subject, cannot harm the party in any way. On the contrary, it encourages the growth of real unity. On the other hand, the discernible divergencies between words and deeds and agreeing to the postulates of the worker backbone of the party and then implementing them in an unwilling and slow manner, which is devoid of contributions, harm the party and the renewal of public life in Poland generally.

THE NINTH CONGRESS WILL NOT MAKE UP FOR WHAT HAS NOT BEEN DONE IN THE PRECONGRESS PERIOD. IF IT HAD TO MAKE UP FOR OUR OMISSIONS, THEN IT WOULD HAVE TO LAST PROBABLY SEVERAL WEEKS IN ORDER TO REACH THE NECESSARY DECISIONS. THE 8 MONTHS THAT SEPARATE US FROM THE DAY ON WHICH THE DECISION TO HOLD A CONGRESS WAS MADE HAVE BEEN USED VERY INEFFECTIVELY AS A PREPARATORY PERIOD. WE HAVE STILL 3 MONTHS, WHICH HAVE TO BE USED MUCH MORE EFFECTIVELY.

Maybe the programmatic theses will not be completed by that time, and we will have to content ourselves with a document still provisional. But certainly we can afford to bring statutory amendments in line with the postulates of the workers' main body in the party. In the settlement of accounts with the perpetrators and apologists of mistakes, we certainly will not advance far enough to reduce the issue at the congress to a short hour of bitter truth.

I also still hope that in the 3 months of preparations for the ninth extraordinary PZPR congress, which will be the most important in our party's history since the unification congress, we will be able at last to break the irrational and paralyzing fear of full democratization in party life, a democratization whose need is not being disputed by anybody.

The hope is based on the fact that the present Central Committee, elected at the eighth congress, adopted the decision in August 1980 to apply, in a conflict, no other methods but political methods, and that decision has determined the developments. The comrades who adopted that decision and held by it during the most dramatic moments have won a guaranteed place in the history of the party, and thus also of Poland, at the end of the 20th century. Those comrades in the Central Committee also proved to be able to eliminate the main figures of E. Gierek's team from influencing developments and to bring about extensive changes in the cadres of voivodship-level bodies.

Owing to the consistent activities ofthose comrades, the Central Committee was able to break its own internal resistance and to adopt the line of the masses, the line of renewal which on the whole predetermines the proceedings of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress.

Neither the trend of criticism and of settling accounts, now predominant among the party masses (but, after all, justified by the acute crisis), nor certain anonymity in the functioning of the higher party echelons are propitious for the businesslike and cool evaluation of party figures. However, judging from the advanced process of renewal, the Central Committee, elected within 3 months, will also include members guaranteeing the continuity of action in that body.

THE POLITICAL VALUE OF THE 3 MONTHS DOES NOT DEPEND ON THE LENGTH OF THAT PERIOD ALONE. IT PRIMARILY DEPENDS ON OUR ABILITY NOT ONLY TO ACCEPT THE LINE OF THE NINTH CONGRESS, WHICH HAS ALREADY BEEN DISTINCTLY TRACED, BUT ALSO TO CONSISTENTLY AND ENERGETICALLY DEEPEN IT.

KRAKOW OPEN LETTER ADDS TO DEBATE ON ISSUES

LD242128 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 24 May 81

[Text] The debate continues on social problems, as well as political and economic problems of the country, on the eve of the Ninth PZPR Congress.

One voice in the debate on the current social and political matters is an open letter from Tadeusz Holuj, published in GAZETA KRAKOWSKA. Its author, as a Polish communist and former inmate of Oswiecim, deals in his letter with the patriotic association Grunwald.

I have been provoked to speak, says Holuj, by both the silence of these responsible for political life in Poland and by the activities of the Grunwald members--attempts to penetrate PZPR branches, including workers' branches, as well as membership in this organization, allegedly numbering 100,000 of PZPR members--including the leadership.

Holuj demands that the party Central Control Commission should start party measures on this issue, in order to establish and assess whether the activities of party members belonging to Grunwald can be reconciled with the ideological precepts of the PZPR.

A further lengthy, and at the same time fundamental, part of the letter is dedicated to one aspect of the Grunwald program, which in the opinion of Tadeusz Holuj constitutes the main field [word indistinct]. The battle of Grunwald anno domini 81 is Zionism in Poland. A thorough though futile search for it has been in progress since at least 1968. After stating his reasons and views, Tadeusz Holuj concludes the open letter by saying he considered it correct to break the silence surrounding the issue which emerged after the setting up of Grunwald. I owe this, he says, not only to my Jewish comrades from the Sowiecim resistance and in the party, who gave their lives for our common cause. I owe this to the party itself too.

NEW PZPR SOCIAL STUDIES SCHOOL RECTOR APPOINTED

LD231854 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 23 May 81

[Text] The party Central Committee Politburo has appointed Assistant Prof Maj Gen Norbert Micha to be rector of the PZPR Central Committee higher school of social studies. The former school rector, Prof Wladyslaw Zastawny, has resigned from the post. At today's meeting with the directing staff of the school, Stefan Olszowski, member of the Politburo and PZPR Central Committee, thanked Prof Wladyslaw Zastawny for his long work as the school's rector.

CEAUSESCU MEETS PLO'S 'ARAFAT 25 MAY IN BUCHAREST

AU260917 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0820 GMT 26 May 81

[Text] Bucharest, 26 May (AGERPRES)--On May 25 President Nicolae Ceausescu met Yasir 'Arafat, the president of the PLO Executive Committee, who visited Romania at the invitation of the CC of the RCP.

Participating in the talks was Stefan Andrei, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister of foreign affairs. Also participating were 'Abd al-Muhsin abu Mayzar, member of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, PLO official spokesman, Ahmad 'Abd ar-Rahman, member of the Revolutionary Council of the Al Fatah organization, chief editor of REVOLUTIONARY PALESTINE magazine, Khalid ash-Shaykh, PLO permanent representative in Bucharest.

The RCP general secretary and the president of the PLO Executive Committee expressed profound satisfaction at their meeting again, at the continuation of the dialogue on bilateral and international problems of joint interest.

During the talks Nicolae Ceausescu and Yasir 'Arafat highlighted the relations of tight friendship, solidarity and collaboration established between the Romanian Communist Party, Socialist Romania, and the Palestine Liberation Organization, between the Romanian people and the Palestinian people, and manifest the joint wish to expand, deepen and strengthen these relations that in recent years have witnessed a fruitful, ever ascending course to the joint interest, to the interest of the cause of peace, collaboration and progress worldwide.

Nicolae Ceausescu and Yasir 'Arafat also exchanged widely, in depth opinions on some topical aspects of the international life, particularly regarding the latest developments of the Middle East situation, the ways and means of attaining a just, lasting peace in the zone. On the occasion Nicolae Ceausescu and Yasir 'Arafat have stressed the necessity of attaining the settlement of the Middle East situation with the participation of all interested sides, PLO included--the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people--that should lead to the settlement of a global, just and lasting peace in the zone, grounded on the withdrawal of Israel from the Palestinian and Arab territories occupied following the 1967 war, Arab Jerusalem included, on solving the problem of the Palestinian people according to its right to self determination and to return to its homes, inclusive to the foundation of an independent Palestinian state where it might organize freely its life, according to its inalienable national rights.

Also highlighted was the need for sustained efforts to be made for ending the fights in Lebanon, for securing the strict observance of that country's integrity, unity and sovereignty, and of attaining collaboration and understanding among all the national forces wishing the freedom and independence of Lebanon, whatever their political and religious beliefs, in view of thus granting the country's existence and independence, the free, serene life of the Lebanese people.

Thanking warmly President Nicolae Ceausescu for the support granted to the cause of the Palestinian people, President Yasir 'Arafat appreciated highly the consistent stand of the Romanian Communist Party, of Socialist Romania, of the leader of the RCP and of the Romanian state, for the implementation of the right to self-dependence of the Palestinian people, for the creation of its own, independent state.

Nicolae Ceausescu reasserted the resolve of the Romanian Communist Party, of Socialist Romania to grant, in the future too, full--political, diplomatic, material and moral--support to the just cause of the Palestinian people, for building an equitable lasting peace in the Middle East.

The talks passed in an atmosphere of warm cordiality and friendship.

REPORTAGE ON SALYUT-SOYUZ SPACE MISSION

21 May Report

AU212043 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1818 GMT 21 May 81

[Text] Moscow, 21 May (AGERPRES)--By May 21, the Salyut-6-Soyuz T-4-Soyuz 40 space complex, with a joint Romanian-Soviet crew made up of Prunariu, Popov, Kovalenok and Savinyh completed 113 laps around the earth.

On their sixth day of activity in space, Prunariu and Popov made intense scientific researches, complete with visual observations, photographs and TV films. Estimations of the Romanian and Soviet experts at the ground control center are that the programme of the Romanian-Soviet space mission fulfills its program. The daily work schedule is usually overfulfilled. On the basis of the data received from aboard the spaceship psychologists and physicians highlight that Prunariu, the youngest member of the crew, feels fine, acts promptly under the conditions of weightlessness. The Soviet crew mates stressed the seriousness, responsibility and the durable professional training of the Romanian cosmonaut.

In the period elapsed since the mission started, the "capillary", "astro" 1 and 2, "immunity" experiments have been completed. The "capillary", a complex physical and technological experiment proposed by Romanian scientists and experts in collaboration with Soviet experts in Moscow, aroused interest, since it represents a pioneer's work in this domain aimed at elaborating a technology for the obtainment, in the outer space, of products with altogether different or, in any case, much improved features as compared to those possible on the earth.

The Romanian and Soviet experts showed that answers were expected to questions preoccupying them for a long time. One of them would be the possibility of obtaining, directly aboard the space complex, on the "Crystal" and "Spaly" installations, band-shaped silicon monocrystals or monocrystals in the shape of very thin plates of large surface. That solution would open real prospects to the future making, directly in the outer space, of solar batteries in conditions of very high productivity.

Trials made on the earth did not give very good results because of some factors which limited productivity, earthly gravitation in the first place. The building, directly in the outer space, of solar batteries of very large surfaces, will allow of such a power capture that the question will be raised of its production in the outer space and its transmission on the earth.

On Thursday morning, the orientation and control systems of the "Soyuz 40" spacecraft were checked and tested. The apparatus and the results of the researches conducted on the joint Romanian-Soviet flight were also packed and carried to the landing capsule. The telemetric data and the information received by radio prove that the flight progresses normally.

Spaceship Returns

AU221630 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 22 May 81

[Text] Esteemed listeners, we want to inform you that the joint Romanian-Soviet space team, formed of Dumitru Prunariu and Leonid Popov, returned safely to the earth today at 1658 Bucharest time, 1758 Moscow time, after 125 rotations around the earth.

The landing place is located 225 kilometers south-east of the city of Djezgazgan in the Kazakhstan Steppe. The two cosmonauts are feeling fine.

[Bucharest AGERPRES in English at 1754 GMT on 22 May repeats this report, and adds:

["Right after landing Prunariu and Popov underwent a medical check-up which confirmed that they felt fine. The members of the crew headed for Baykonur where they are to remain for a few days under strict medical care. Then they will return to the cosmonauts' town nearby Moscow.

["The two cosmonauts brought along containers with the apparatus and the results of the experiments conducted during their space flight, as well as films and notes on the visual observations of the earth."]

Leaders Cable Brezhnev

AU221636 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 22 May 81

[Text] Comrades Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Ilie Verdet, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, have sent the following telegram to Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and to Comrade Nikolay Aleksandrovich Tikhonov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR:

Dear comrades, it gives us particular pleasure to extend, on behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the State Council and government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, warmest congratulations to you, the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the Government of the Soviet Union and to the friendly Soviet peoples on the successful conclusion of the Soyuz-40 flight with a joint Romanian-Soviet crew on board.

The Romanian-Soviet crew's flight represents a symbol of the close relations of friendship, cooperation and internationalist solidarity between our parties, countries and peoples, and a symbol of our mutual desire to promote and intensify fruitful cooperation between Romania and the Soviet Union in all fields of activity and to utilize the achievements of science and technology, including cosmonautics, for developing socialist construction in our countries and to the benefit of the general cause of progress, peace and cooperation among peoples.

We want to express the conviction, the telegram concludes, that relations of friendship and cooperation between the RCP and the CPSU, between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the USSR will continuously strengthen and develop in the future to the benefit of our peoples and of the cause of peace, progress and socialism in the world.

Cosmonauts Awarded Titles

AU231357 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0900 GMT 23 May 81

[Text] Bucharest, 23 May (AGERPRES)--Under a decree signed by President Nicolae Ceausescu, Lieutenant Senior Dumitru Prunariu, astronaut researcher, Romanian air force pilot, was awarded the highest order "Hero of the Socialist Republic of Romania" for his mission accomplished aboard the scientific space station Salyut-6-Soyuz and the successful implementation of the space research programme during the first joint Romanian-Soviet manned spaceflight.

The same high order was conferred by presidential decree to Colonel Leonid Popov, cosmonaut pilot of the Soviet Union, commander of the Soyuz-40 craft.

At the same time, cosmonauts Prunariu and Popov were decorated by the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR--the former being awarded the order "Hero of the Soviet Union", the Lenin Order and the Golden Star Medal, and the latter--the Lenin Order and a Second Golden Star Medal for their successful spaceflight, for their valour and heroism in the recently concluded joint Soviet-Romanian space mission.

Cosmonaut Press Conference

AU232032 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1833 GMT 23 May 81

[Text] Moscow, 23 May (AGERPRES)--After successfully completing their space flight aboard the Salyut 6-Soyuz T-4-Soyuz 40 orbiting complex and fully implementing the scientific programme of space research, the joint Romanian-Soviet crew made up of Dumitru Prunariu and Leonid Popov, participated in a press conference arranged in Baykonur on Saturday.

The head of the Soviet group of cosmonauts, Major-General Aleksey Leonov, who chaired the press conference, said that according to the medical examination the two cosmonauts' health condition was good, that, upon landing, Dumitru Prunariu said "Let's start it all over again". The Romanian cosmonaut confessed he had found the state of weightlessness very pleasant.

During the press conference, Dumitru Prunariu and Leonid Popov referred to the most interesting experiments conducted aboard the orbiting complex. Answering a question whereby he had been asked how he would characterize the Romanian cosmonaut after the activity he had carried on in the outer space, the head of the Soviet group of cosmonauts, Aleksey Leonov, said that Dumitru Prunariu proved to be an extraordinary person.

COMMUNIQUE ON MINING ACCIDENT INQUIRY ISSUED

WA261552 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 15 May 81 p 5

["Communique on the Collective Labor Accident at the Livezeni Mine"]

[Text] The Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee has analyzed the report of the party and state commission set up to establish the causes of the accident that occurred at the Livezeni Mining Enterprise on November 29, 1980. The committee reported that the accident was caused by serious violations of the technical and technological norms of underground coal mining, and of labor safety and discipline.

Dangerous accumulations of methane developed when a long wall was opened and modified without also redesigning the ventilation system and without ensuring adequate air supply necessary for preventing and diluting the methane accumulations. Contrary to labor safety norms, an electric cable, which had not been provided with an automatic circuit breaker, was mounted underground. This cable deteriorated and produced electric sparks that ignited the methane and caused the explosion.

The analysis highlighted that those in charge of the control of methane concentrations and of all the explosion-proof installations did not do their duty with respect to labor safety rules, a fact which led to the accident.

A program of technical and organizational measures has been elaborated so that the activity in the affected area can be resumed in conditions of full safety. Most of these measures have already been carried out and the production activity in the zone resumed.

The Political Executive Committee has recommended that the government take all necessary measures for the strict observance of the laws in the field of labor safety; consistently control the observance of labor safety norms in the mining industry; prevent accidents by enhancing exactitude as regards the performance of underground operations, ventilation systems and air supply in order to control and eliminate methane accumulations; and enhance the responsibility of the technical, technological and labor safety regulations on underground activity.

The Ministry of Mines, Petroleum and Geology will examine the technical designs to remedy the problems of mines with methane emissions and suggest implementation techniques which strictly comply with existing provisions.

In connection with the serious violations of the legal provisions and rules for the operation of mines, the proposals of the party and state commission concerning the sanctioning of those guilty of causing the accident have been approved, and the government has been charged with the application of these sanctions. Some personnel with management and supervisory responsibilities in the Livezeni Mining Enterprise, including engineer Radu Tomescu, former director of the enterprise, have been turned over to the criminal prosecution and justice organs. In addition, the following have been removed from office: the chief engineer of the Jiu Valley Mining Combine, Iulian Costescu; the head of the Hunedoara Territorial Inspectorate for Labor Protection, Petre Gomotirceanu; and the head of the group of inspectors for labor protection in Petrosani, Claudiu Nicolau. The chief manager of the Jiu Valley Mining Combine, Dan Surulescu, and other personnel in the Jiu Valley Mining Combine and the Livezeni Mining Enterprise have received sanctions from the party and state.

Taking into account the seriousness of the accident at the Livezeni Mining Enterprise, as well as the responsibility falling upon the Ministry of Mines, Petroleum and Geology and the Ministry of Labor for causing it, the Political Executive Committee has approved proposals for sanctioning some personnel in responsible positions in these ministries: the removal from the office of deputy minister of mines, petroleum and geology of Comrade Dumitru Condrache, and the sanctioning with a vote of censure of Comrade Ilie Cisu, deputy minister of labor. At the same time, the Political Executive Committee has sanctioned the top officials of these two ministries, who bear the responsibility for these occurrences, and has drawn attention in a severe manner to the obligations that they have to take all measures to ensure the complete safety of those carrying out of production activities in the mines.

The Political Executive Committee has established that the report involving the results of the investigation to determine the causes of the accident and the measures called for in order to prevent similar accidents is to be discussed with the party aktiv and leadership cadres in the central and subordinate units of the Ministry of Mines, Petroleum and Geology and the Ministry of Labor, and with the party aktiv of Hunedoara County.

CEAUSESCU GREETS MITTERRAND ON INAUGURATION

AU221850 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1805 GMT 22 May 81

[Text] Bucharest, 22 May (AGERPRES)--President Nicolae Ceausescu sent a congratulatory telegram to Francois Mitterrand on his having been inaugurated president of the French Republic.

The telegram reads among other things: "I express my conviction that during your presidency we shall continue and deepen our dialogue in the interest of the development of the relations of traditional friendship between the Romanian and French peoples, of the expansion of the political, economic, technico-scientific, cultural and other relations between Romania and France.

Likewise, I wish to express my conviction that our countries will cooperate ever more productively for the promotion in international ife of the principles of equal rights, observance of national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, for the peaceful settlement of all interstate questions, for the cessation of the arms race and for a passage to disarmament, for the eradication of underdevelopment and the building of a new economic order, for peace, detente, collaboration and progress in the world".

Premier Ilie Verdet sent a congratulatory telegram to Pierre Mauroy on his having been appointed prime minister of the French Republic.

ECONOMIC TALKS WITH MEXICO REPORTED

AU251901 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1735 GMT 25 May 81

[Text] Bucharest, 25 May (AGERPRES)--The proceedings of the fourth session of the joint Romanian-Mexican governmental commission of economic and technical cooperation started in Bucharest on May 25. The Romanian delegation is led by Doina Ardare, deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, and the Mexican one by Manuel Ermendariz, assistant director-general of the Institute of Foreign Trade.

During the session fresh possibilities are discussed of expanding and diversifying cooperation in various domains of mutual interest, of intensifying commercial exchanges.

PRC DELEGATION CONTINUES VISIT TO COUNTRY

Visit to Academy

AU221827 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1750 GMT 22 May 81

[Text] Bucharest, 22 May (AGERPRES)--On May 22, the delegation of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China, led by Yang Shangkun, vice-chairman and secretary of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, visited the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy.

The guest had an interview with Leonte Rautu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, president of the management board and rector of the academy, and with members of the bureau of the management board.

Arad, Timis Counties Visited

AU251940 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 21 May 81 p 5

[Text] The delgation of the PRC National People's Congress led by Yang Shangkun, member of the CCP Central Committee, vice chairman and general secretary of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, which is visiting our country at the invitation of the Grand National Assembly, arrived in Arad County 20 May.

The Chinese guests met with representatives of the county party and state bodies and became acquainted with the achievements recorded by the Arad working people in the country's socioeconomic development. In the afternoon, the representatives of the Chinese people visited the wood-processing combine and the railroad car enterprise in Arad. The Arad County People's Council gave a lunch in honor of the Chinese guests.

Before leaving Timisoara, the Chinese parliamentarians also visited the "1 June" knitwear enterprise, new urban complexes and other social establishments in the Timis County residential center.

During the visits to Arad and Timis Counties, the Chinese delegation was accompanied by Virgil Teodorescu, vice chairman of the Grand National Assembly. Chen Shuliang, PRC ambassador to Bucharest, and embassy members were also present.

[Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian, on 22 May on page 5 reports that also on this visit, "the Chinese legislators visited hothouse complexes of the Arad state and cooperative economic association, the Avicola enterprise in Arad, and productive units within the Pecica joint agricultural industrial council." "In the evening, the delegation of the PRC National People's Congress returned to Bucharest."]

Delegation Departure

AU231400 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0825 GMT 23 May 81

[Text] Bucharest, 23 May (AGERPRES)--The delegation of the representatives of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China led by Yang Sangkun, member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, vice-chairman and secretary general of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, who paid a visit of friendship to Romania, left Bucharest on May 23.

VERDET MEETS TUNISIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL

AU221842 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1800 GMT 22 May 81

[Text] Bucharest, 22 May (AGERPRES)--On May 22, Romanian Premier Ilie Verdet, received Mahmoud Mestiri, secretary-general at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Tunisia, now on a visit to Romania.

During the talks conducted on the occasion satisfaction was expressed at the productive collaboration between the two countries. Possibilities were also discussed of further developing and diversifying the relations between Romania and Tunisia, the common wish being expressed to stimulate the Romanian-Tunisian manysided collaboration.

Andrei Receives Official

AU221356 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 22 May 81

[Text] Comrade Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs, this morning received (Mahmud Mestiri), general secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs [as heard] of the Republic of Tunisia.

During the ensuing talk, the two sides expressed satisfaction with the upward trend of relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries and also stressed their joint desire to act to continue intensifying cooperation between Romania and Tunisia in fields of common interest and in the international arena.

Consultations Reported

AU221357 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 22 May 81

[Text] Romanian-Tunisian consultations took place in Bucharest on bilateral and international matters of common interest. The Romanian delegation was led by Comrade Aurel Duma, minister secretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Tunisian delegation was led by (Mahmud Mestiri). The two sides discussed aspects regarding the development of relations between the two countries in the political, economic, scientific-technical, cultural and other fields.

The exchange of views on current international political isses stressed their joint interest in developing bilateral cooperation in the world arena to the benefit of the policy of peace, security and cooperation for establishing just and equitable economic relations among nations.

FINANCIAL-BANKING TALKS WITH U.S. REPORTED

AU221355 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 22 May 81

[Text] Comrade Cornel Burtica, deputy prime minister of the Romanian Government and minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, has received (Dwight S. Allen), deputy executive president of the U.S. Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company, with whom he discussed aspects of the financial-banking relations between Romanian trade institutions and the American bank, as well as mutually advantageous cooperation ventures designed to contribute to further expanding and diversifying economic relations between Romania and the United States.

EXPLOSIONS IN SFRY EMBASSY IN TIRANA DRAW PROTEST

TANJUG Report

LD241020 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0930 GMT 24 May 81

[Text] Belgrade, 24 May (TANJUG)--Yesterday two bombs were thrown at the SFRY Embassy building in Tirana. They landed on the embassy's balcony and exploded within a short time of each other, rupturing the ceiling in two places and shattering windows. At the time of the explosions, the embassy staff was in the building attending a ceremony marking Youth Day, but no one was injured.

The SFRY ambassador in Tirana, Branko Komatina, immediately informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. He demanded an explanation for this attack, which constitutes a serious violation of the immunity of our diplomatic mission, and that measures be taken to ensure the full protection of the embassy and the official representatives of the SFRY in Albania. Official Albanian organs have carried out an inspection.

Foreign Ministry Protest

LD241200 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1132 GMT 24 May 81

[Text] Belgrade, 24 May (TANJUG)--Assistant Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Milos Melovski today summoned Albanian Ambassador Sokrat Plaka and handed him a strong protest over the attack on the SFRY Embassy in Tirana. He stressed that this act of terrorism constitutes a serious infringement on the immunity of the Yugoslav diplomatic mission and a threat to the lives of the embassy staff. This latest anti-Yugoslav provocation is undoubtedly also directly aimed at good Yugoslav-Albanian relations. Melovski demanded that the government take energetic measures to capture and punish the culprits, and that the mission and SFRY official representatives be given the full protection and conditions necessary to ensure the undisturbed performance of their work. In this connection the Yugoslav side expects an explanation and a reply from the Albanian Government.

Condemnation of ATA Report

LD251736 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 25 May 81

["Irresponsible Behavior of the Albanian Government"--TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 25 May (TANJUG)--The Yugoslav public was informed yesterday that the night before last, on Saturday at about 2000 two bombs were thrown at the SFRY Embassy in Tirana. The moment chosen for this diversion was certainly no coincidence. Whoever decided to shower bombs on the Yugoslav diplomatic mission did this knowing that at that moment all Yugoslavs working in Albania had gathered together to celebrate Youth Day.

According to international practice, the SFRY ambassador in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania immediately informed the Albanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs about this incident and demanded an explanation for this attack which gravely infringed on the inviolability of our diplomatic mission. At the same time a severe protest was lodged with the ambassador of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in Belgrade regarding the attack on the SFRY Embassy in Tirana. The protest demanded that the Albanian Government take energetic measures to find and punish the culprits, measures for the full protection of the mission and of the official SFRY representatives and to ensure conditions for their normal work.

The official Albanian news agency, ATA, however, provided late last night a distorted version of this incident. It asserted that official Albanian representatives and experts had arrived at the scene for an inquiry "immediately." This is not true because they took an hour and a half to come to the SFRY Embassy from the time they had been informed of the incident. In line with its attempt to deny all facts, ATA said that the Yugoslav ambassador's protest had been assessed by the assistant foreign affairs minister of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania as "impermissible" and that he had rejected it out of hand though he was not yet in possession of the report by his "experts."

The official "report" carried by ATA asserted that it was not bombs but some kind of "special explosive charges" and that this explosive "had not been planted outside" but "by hand at the scene of the event" and which according to the "report by a group of experts"--carried by ATA--should lead one to the conclusion that the explosive was planted by somebody inside, that is, that the Yugoslavs had bombed themselves.

Such absurd assertions are based by Albanian"experts" on statements made by "persons of the service providing security for the embassy and by residents living near the embassy." Such reliable "witnesses" of Albanian enquiry organs--ATA quotes--"say that at the time of the event they did not see anybody near the embassy."

ATA reports that the assistant minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania rejected the Yugoslav protest as "unfounded and unjustified," which he also did before an inquiry by a "group of experts," and describes Yugoslavia's normal request for the protection of the lives of its personnel carrying out their diplomatic mission in Tirana as a "continuation of spurious accusations and fabrications which are the work of various (?anti-Yugoslav) organs."

ATA describes the TANJUG report of this incident as "tendentious," as a "distortion of facts," as "a hullabaloo," and as "continuation of the campaign waged in Yugoslavia against Albania."

What do bombs in Tirana and the official justification of this terrorist act on the Yugoslav diplomatic mission mean? Is this the way in which the Albanian Government wishes to develop relations between two neighbors "on the basis of good-neighborly policy" as the assurances repeated by ATA say, by justifying this latest grave anti-Yugoslav provocation and diversion.

On this occasion too, Yugoslavia will firmly demand that the normal functioning of its diplomatic and other missions everywhere in the world and also in Albania be made possible. Nobody can deprive Yugoslavia of this right.

Such bombing methods have never promoted cooperation, particularly not among neighbors. It is clear to everybody, except to the protagonists of this diversion, that this crude anti-Yugoslav provocation is directed against good Yugoslav-Albanian relations. Therefore, Albania's messages for the development of good-neighbourly relations, too, are insincere because they parallel the most direct acts of interference in Yugoslavia's internal affairs and with terrorist attacks such as this one.

Yugoslavia has always been in favor of cooperation with all countries, in particular with its neighbors, and has confirmed this by its practical actions and policy. With regard to Albania too, Yugoslavia has always been and is ready to develop cooperation in line with the well known principles of equality, independence, noninterference and full respect for the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity.

If Albania wishes this also, it must know that it will never achieve this by bombs and by aligning itself with countries which use terror. The responsibility of the Albanian Government for the consequences of such an attitude is, therefore, a great one not only before the peoples of Yugoslavia but also before the people of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Sundic Commentary

LD251535 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 May 81

[Milika Sundic commentary]

[Text] The two bombs hurled at the Yugoslav Embassy building in Tirana have destroyed virtually even the last hope of any kind of change in the hostile conduct of Albania toward Yugoslavia. Following an unprecedented anti-Yugoslav witchhunt in the press and on the radio Albania has engaged in a new adventure, thus jeopardizing its own peace as well as ours and peace in this part of Europe.

The attack on the Yugoslav Embassy building is, in fact, a desperate attempt to transfer the anti-Yugoslav conduct into the sphere of terrorism both in Albania and outside it. It constitutes a kind of call to all sinister forces in the world, which in the anti-Yugoslav witchhunt have aligned themselves with Albania, and it is also the best proof that it is in these forces that Albania seeks and finds the only support for its hostile policy toward socialist self-managing and nonaligned Yugoslavia.

With such senseless conduct Albania is assuming responsibility for all the consequences which might ensue from the attack on the Yugoslav Embassy building in Tirana, and this is before its own people, the peoples of Yugoslavia and the international public as a whole. We are sure that nobody who is well-intentioned, who is interested in lasting and stable peace in the world, can accept and justify this latest act against Yugoslavia. This can be accepted and justified only by the forces which are against peace and understanding in the world and which see in Albania's anti-Yugoslav conduct an opportunity to implement their sinister goals in the Balkans and in Europe.

Everything shows that Albania has long been preparing for the attack on the Yugoslav Embassy. It occurred when the celebration devoted to Youth Day was in progress at the embassy. And the fact that it was not until 90 minutes later that the Albanian organs came to carry out the inquiry shows how far the Albanian leadership is prepared to go in its hostile attitude toward Yugoslavia. If one adds to this the fact that the Yugoslav Embassy building is well guarded, it is absolutely certain that the guards also knew what was being prepared.

After all, the ATA statement which says that the inquiry's results have shown that the bombs hurled at the Yugoslav Embassy could not have been thrown from outside--which in fact represents an accusation about the bombs being planted by the representatives of the Yugoslav Embassy--clearly shows what it is all about.

Albania needed quite a lot of time to invent such an extremely unfounded accusation. The facts, however, show something different. First and most important is that Albanian organs did not appear until 90 minutes after the Yugoslav ambassador's request. On the other hand, in the talks which the Yugoslav ambassador held in Tirana with the Albanian deputy foreign affairs minister, the Albanian side tried to play down the gravity of this latest anti-Yugoslav provocation. This was also done by the Albanian ambassador in Belgrade in his talks with Milos Melovski, assistant federal secretary for foreign affairs.

And last, according to ATA, the inquiry has allegedly established that it was a case not of bombs but of explosive devices of 70 and 100 grams. This information clearly shows that the Albanian organs have known full well what kind of diversion is at stake.

The Yugoslav Government adheres to its stance communicated yesterday to the Albanian ambassador in Belgrade to the effect that it is the Albanian authorities' duty to find and punish the perpetrators of the assassination attempt, as it is convinced that any further deterioration in Yugoslav-Albanian relations will be extremely dangerous for peace both in the Balkans and in Europe.

The ATA Agency statement cannot be considered a reply to the Yugoslav protest and even less acceptable is its content. Yugoslavia rightly demands that Albania cease interference in the internal affairs of our country and that it adhere strictly to the obligations which arise from the UN Charter. This is the only way to overcome the present very unfavorable situation in the relations between the two countries, responsibility for which is borne exclusively by the Albanian side.

KOSOVO LC SESSION ASSESSES SOCIOPOLITICAL SITUATION

LD231344 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0944 GMT 23 May 81

[Text] Pristina, 23 May (TANJUG)--The Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo today met in Pristina under the chairmanship of Veli Deva. The agenda of this meeting includes the program of activity of the League of Communists of Kosovo until the 13th conference of the communists of the province. The proposal of this document was explained by Mustafa Pljakic, member of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo.

The Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo determined the proposed action program on the basis of assessments that the demonstrations in Kosovo were of a hostile and counterrevolutionary character and that they represent an integral part of the organized internal and external enemy operating from the positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism. The working class and all nations and nationalities of Kosovo have most resolutely, Pljakic emphasized, denounced the hostile and counterrevolutionary action and are waging an energetic struggle under the leadership of the League of Communists to unmask the essence of reactionary aims and to destroy and prevent hostile activity. The enemy, however, is not keeping quiet. He tries by various methods to continue his activity, including in conditions of wide and organized ideopolitical activity of the League of Communists and all organized forces of Kosovo.

In Pljakic's view, the political action of the League of Communists and all progressive forces of Kosovo, which was started immediately after the hostile demonstrations, is giving certain concrete results in eliminating hostile elements.

The level of the critical and self-critical approach to our own weaknesses, mistakes and omissions which appeared in the activity of the League of Communists and which were revealed at the 17th session of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, has contributed, in Pljackic's view, to the intentification of political action and to the speeding up of ideopolitical differentiation in the League of Communists. In the political action which we are leading, Pljakic observed, there is still a lack of resourcefulness, and also hesitation and opportunism.

Any inconsistency and lagging in the political action and in the struggle against nationalism and irredentism and any other nationalism can harm our entire socialist development and complicate the conditions of political struggle of the League of Communists and all progressive forces of Kosovo for a complete and lasting consolidation and stability of the political and security situation in the province, which continues to be complex.

The enemy continues its activity by writing slogans, spreading pamphlets, boycotting tuition in some secondary schools, and by pressure and attempts to organize demonstrations at any price, especially in places where they were not organized before. The enemy activity is also encouraged by the brutal and organized anti-Yugoslav propaganda from Albania, which does not shrink from any means in stirring up enemy activity from the positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism and in influencing the creation and continuation of a complex situation in the province.

The Albanian leadership most clearly expresses these aims through articles in ZERI I POPULLIT, which are most energetically rejected and denounced by the Albanian nationality and all nations and nationalities of our country. This not only constitutes very crude interference in our internal affairs but is also an open expression of territorial claims on our country.

In this complex situation, Pljakic continued, it is necessary to intensify still more the political action in every environment at all levels. This requires the full mobility and vigilance, resolute and energetic activity of the communists in all institutions of the system and especially in sociopolitical organizations, as well as the greater involvement and responsibility of the sociopolitical organizations themselves and their leaderships.

The proposed program of activity of the League of Communists of Kosovo, Pljakic said, aims at contributing toward a more rapid overcoming of the reasons and shortcomings which the enemy exploited for his activity. By consistently implementing the action program, the League of Communists of Kosovo must energetically continue the offensive action, coupled at the same time with the analysis of its own weaknesses which were reflected in poor vigilance, hesitation, a passive attitude and opportunism.

We must, he said, more speedily overcome the forum-type manner of work and critically analyze the ideological and action ability and organization of the League of Communists in the basic organizations, work organizations and composite organizations of associated labor, in the countryside and local communities, in primary and secondary schools, in cultural and other institutions, especially at the university, with the purpose of creating a greater influence of the League of Communists in the base of society. In his view, it is especially important to ensure organizational and cadre consolidation and action ability of the League of Communists in all work collectives, at the university and in secondary schools, where there is open hostile activity and participation by a number of students and pupils and a smaller number of workers in the demonstrations. We must critically analyze the practice of admissions to the League of Communists and on this basis undertake measures for its further class strengthening and improvement of the social structure by admitting more workers to the party.

In the political action which is being led to overcome the situation created by the hostile counterrevolutionary activity, we must ensure, Pljakic observed, a critical and self-critical attitude on the part of all cadres and members of the League of Communists, as well as the determination of their responsibility in the assessment of reasons, circumstances and consequences of the situation created.

A principled, complete and unequivocal ideological clarity, militancy and responsibility for consistent and uncompromising implementation of the policy of the League of Communists, especially in the field of intranational relations, represents a most important criterion in the practical implementation of the cadres policy at all levels and in every environment in the province.

In spite of clear ideopolitical commitments which the League of Communists has in respect to the intranational relations in the practical implementation of this policy, Pljakic emphasized, there are numerous and serious shortcomings. We must, therefore, direct the action of the League of Communists of Kosovo toward practical and consistent creation of links between class and national aspects in the practical implementation of the policy of intranational relations. We must direct it toward strengthening equality, brotherhood and unity of the nations and nationalities in Kosovo, confidence and togetherness of the nations and nationalities of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the whole country, and the fostering of Yugoslav socialist patriotism.

The League of Communists of Kosovo must wage a resolute and uncompromising struggle against Albanian nationalism and irredentism, as well as against any other nationalism on every occasion and in every environment. In the practical and concrete political action, we must constantly and clearly emphasize the line separating national affirmation of the Albanian people and Albanian nationalism and irredentism. Consistent implementation of the policy of national equality requires the engagement of the League of Communists and other subjective forces in its practical and consistent application in the field of employment, cadres policy and bilinguality. The action program, Pljakic observed, emphasizes the need for an early assessment and analysis of the reasons and phenomena of the Serbs and Montenegrins moving out of Kosovo and for determining concrete tasks.

In continuation, Mustafa Pljakic recalled that the intensive and continuous hostile subversive and propaganda activity from the People's Socialist Republic of Albania represents one of the main sources of ideological indoctrination, especially of young people, on the bases of Albanian nationalism and irredentism. It is therefore necessary that all subjects in the province which maintain cooperation and contacts with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania should critically review all these relations. It is necessary to analyze critically all protocols signed with Albania on cooperation in the field of education, science, culture, tourism and sport and to take corresponding measures. All further contacts and relations between the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania should be developed within the framework of planned interstate relations between the SFRY and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in accordance with the principles of the foreign policy of our country. As a most important task in the forthcoming period, Pljakic also listed a critical analysis of the present intense development of specialized education and upbringing in the province and emphasized that the policy of enrollment of students in the university must be coordinated with the real possibilities and needs of associated labor.

This requires a critical assessment of the existing structure of faculties and high schools in the province. It is necessary, Pljakic emphasized, to undertake concrete measures for the elimination of phenomena of monopoly and other weaknesses in the implementation of the cadres policy in education and in the choice and training of cadres from the ranks of all nationalities in Kosovo. It is also necessary to analyze as soon as possible the ideological bases of textbooks and other literature and to remove from them contents which encourage nationalist and irredentist consciousness. The competent organs and institutions must be extremely critical of literature coming from Albania.

After speaking about the need to affirm national culture as an important factor of national equality and its creative permeation with the national culture of all nations and nationalities of our country, Pljakic devoted part of his report to the tasks of communists in public information media and said that it is necessary to critically assess the program concepts and editorial policy in public media. The present experience and problems in the implementation of the Constitution and cohesion on self-managing bases, Pljakic said, also demand critical analysis and assessment. To this end, efforts should be made with the organs of the League of Communists of Serbia and League of Communists of Vojvodina to find answers to questions in this field which have not yet been settled.

The League of Communists and all other progressive socialist forces, Pljakic emphasized, must resolutely unmask the reactionary substance of the nationalist and irredentist slogan "Kosovo, a republic" as an attack on revolutionary achievements, on the constitutional order of the SFRY and on the interests and unity of the nations and nationalities of Kosovo and the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

Emphasizing the need for a critical analysis of the omissions in the organization of the system of all-people's defense and social self-protection in the province, Pljakic said that this should especially be done in those organizations of associated labor and local communities in which these shortcomings were particularly evident during hostile demonstrations. The making of realistic political and security assessments in every environment and the development and strengthening of the system of social self-protection represent an immediate, permanent and especially important task of the League of Communists. Pljakic devoted the last part of his report to the tasks of the League of Communists and other organized socialist forces in the province in the implementation of the policy of material development of Kosovo, stabilization of economy and development of socioeconomic relations. Pointing out the responsibility of the League of Communists for the implementation of the policy of the fastest possible development of Kosovo, Pljakic emphasized among other things that it is necessary to determine concrete reasons for the lag in the process of associating work and resources on the bases of income-linking. The League of Communists must energetically oppose phenomena of isolation in all economic sectors, as well as all other forms of isolation within one's own frameworks, Pljakic said in conclusion.

Discussion Continues

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[Excerpts] Pristina, 23 May (TANJUG)--After the introductory report, Becir Hoti, who was the first speaker in the discussion, expressed support for the proposed action program and suggested that more attention be devoted to the activity of the League of Communists in the countryside and to the implementation of the cadres policy. Hoti then informed the provincial committee about the intense ideopolitical activity in the Pec municipality. He said that the action was directed toward explaining more thoroughly the character and aims of the hostile counterrevolutionary activity, toward identifying its protagonists and toward further strengthening brotherhood, unity and togetherness.

At the same time, a process of ideological differentiation is underway. However, critical and self-critical examination of practice and behavior has not yet prevailed everywhere. Becir Hoti said that so far in the Pec municipality 26 members have been expelled from the League of Communists, 8 students have been removed from secondary schools and 5 from high schools, while disciplinary proceedings have been initiatied against 11 secondary school students.

Hoti also referred to the data on the national composition of the population and said that the number of Albanian nationals increased by 71.5 percent and of Muslim nationals by 3.4 percent, while the number of Serb nationals decreased by 3 percent and of Montenegrin nationals by 4.2 percent. All cases of Serbs and Montenegrins moving out are being registered and the reasons for their departure analyzed. Concrete tasks of the League of Communists and all organized forces in the Pec municipality will be determined on the basis of this analysis. Among other things, Hoti mentioned that the question of the existence of the high commercial school in Pec and the number of its students has been raised during the present action, as well as the possible transfer of the agricultural faculty or of some other faculty from Pristina to Pec.

Bahri Oruci agreed with the assessment that the political security situation in the province is still very complex. He illustrated this by saying that the enemy is trying to continue its activity by various perfidious methods, by organizing alleged games by students and school children in courtyards only to turn these "games" later into enemy action, the shouting of slogans of a hostile nature, and provoking security organs. The enemy is interested, Oruci went on, to keep up the momentum at any price and to cause bloodshed. Therefore, the League of Communists and other organs must wage an even more resolute struggle to expose enemy activity and to combat it.

Oruci devoted a considerable part of his speech to economic trends in the past months which, he said, are more favorable than in the same period last year but that in the next period all organs must be mobilized to the maximum for the most successful implementation of production tasks and of tasks of the economic stabilization policy which calls for coordinating activity and for greater responsibility by all responsible factors. Bahri Oruci believes that insufficiently developed self-managing relations represent one of the significant causes of the present situation in the province. He therefore stressed the need for the League of Communists, and in particular for the Provincial Committee, to examine more closely and critically the assessments of the causes of certain backwardness in the development of self-management. In this context what should be examined in particular is the extent to which the euphoria of Albanian nationalism and irredentism has harmed self-management especially as it has already been assessed that the hostile activity was more pronounced in those environments in which self-management was poorly developed. Where nationalism took hold, self-management was blocked.

After emphasizing that no country in the world has achieved such a high level in the development of national equality of all nations and nationalities as our country, Oruci said that we should openly tell the working people and citizens that Albanian nationalism, and any other nationalism, is the sworn enemy of self-management. Oruci considers that the reasons for insufficiently developed self-managing relations should also be sought in the technobureaucratic and statist trends of reproduction. In this connection, he noted that the resources of associated labor in the total investments in Kosovo only amount to 10 percent.

Speaking about the relations between Kosovo and Tirana, Oruci said: The desire to develop good-neighborly cooperation with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania emanates from the principled LCY policy on the development of good-neighborly cooperation with all countries, to which Comrade Tito especially contributed. However, it is clear that Tirana links the cooperation between Kosovo and Albania with territorial pretensions against our country.

The best proof for this is represented by the fact that Albania was directly involved in the preparation of the nationalist and irredentist euphoria of the hostile elements in Kosovo.

It is clear that the attacks from Albania represent flagrant interference in Yugoslavia's internal affairs and this, of course, must have consequences for mutual cooperation, while the responsibility for this must be borne by the Albanian side.

In conclusion, Oruci urged that an analysis should be made of the reasons for which Serbs and Montenegrins have been moving out of Kosovo in the past 10 years. He also insisted that the student-enrollment plan for Pristina University for the next school year should again be examined.

Dzevdet Hamza emphasized that the action program was part of the entire work program of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists and its organs and that the activity therefore must be comprehensive. Apart from this, an operational program should also be made in which the main emphasis should be on the strengthening of the basic organization of the League of Communists. It is here that differentiation must take place between those who are for the League of Communists and those who hesitate. In other words, it is necessary to find out who is for the party and who is not. Hamza emphasized that more attention should be devoted to the ideological education which has so far been insufficient and inadequate. The same applies to the cadre policy, in which there should be more democratization. So far, there has been too much opportunism, familiarity and other harmful phenomena in this respect, and this should be fought to the end, regardless of the post one is occupying.

The protagonists of these phenomena should be identified and the purity of cadres should be ensured. According to Hamza, the League of Communists must act uncompromisingly. These things must be cleared up and a much greater responsibility demanded because the moral reputation of communists has been ruined through a number of cases. He mentioned personal bahavior, the attitude of some communists toward material questions, abuses of position and struggle for personal positions. Even the peasant who has no education notices these phenomena, Hamza said, while communists turn a deaf ear to them and do nothing. Speaking about economic stabilization, Hamza said that it was not enough to hold meetings, and that we should watch how the stances were implemented and join together with the people in the struggle for them.

Jusuf Sabani from Suva Reka spoke of the situation in this municipality, where, according to him, full mobilization of all working people has been achieved and the ideological struggle made fully inclusive. At the secondary school center in Suva Reka, no unjustified absence has been noted recently and this, in Sabani's words, shows how things should have been done up to now. There have been no demonstrations in this municipality, though there have been negative phenomena. Because relevant attention had been paid to intranational relations in the earlier period, space for the enemy has been restricted, but there is no room for self-satisfaction. That the action is not abating is also shown by the fact that one League of Communists Organization in the municipality has been disbanded and seven members have been expelled from League of Communist ranks.

Luka Vlahovic believes that the action program could basically be endorsed but that the activity of Kosovo communists aimed at eliminating the causes and combating the activity by enemy and counterrecolutionary elements cannot be restricted just until the 13th Conference of the Kosovo League of Communists has taken place.

As regards the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, it is accurate that we must examine the long-standing causes of this process. But regardless of when we start or end this process, we must fight against every attempt at pressure and individual blackmail that results in people abandoning their homes, Luka Vlahovic said.

At this point, it is the struggle against Albanian nationalism and irredentism, but also against any other nationalism, and the consistent implementation of LCY policy in intra-national relations which must be the basic criterion of every individual. However, there are still environments today where more important is what someone has said or stated than how real political action is proceeding. This is easier work but, Vlahovic noted, we must fight against such phenomena because they do not get to the bottom of the problem, nor is it possible to escape difficulties through them. We do not need verbal support, Vlahovic concluded.

Votim Demiri spoke about the socioeconomic development of Kosovo and about the errors which have taken place in that development.

In his assessment, most of the omissions have been in the investment policy, because decisions on investments have often been adopted by narrow circles. Therefore, he noted, we should say that we, too, are at fault for some failures and we should not always look for culprits elsewhere. I think, Demiri said, that writings in the press about the failure of production plans in a large number of Kosovo work organizations is not true and does not contribute to mobilization of the wordking people in implementing stabilization tasks.

Mitar Samardzic pointed out that a number of basic League of Communists organizations had not been up to the complex situation in their past activities. It had been up to them to establish the lists of organizers, instigators, aggravators and rowdies in the enemy activity. However, despite a clear platform and attitudes, some organizations have not succeeded in creating a political climate which would lead to exposing the enemy and this means that there is opportunism, lack of militancy, watering-down, easy-going and irresponsible behavior, but also nationalistic impediments in a number of League of Communists members. We cannot accept from any League of Communists member, regardless of who he might be, his verbal support for our assessments and attitudes as a special contribution. There are no communists who are so privileged as to make it possible for us to be indulgent of them. But we must know well on which communists we can count, Samardzic stressed, adding that the program which was being adopted demanded ideological purity and unity of action.

Mitar Samardzic then dealt with certain "national majority" [of Albanians] in decision-making processes in some collectives and stressed that the League of Communists can not allow national division in the decision-making process. He also advocated the principle of the voluntary study of a language, but he warned in this context against abuses in employment.

Kolj Siroka, the next speaker in the debate, stressed that in the struggle against the enemy, the entire collective force of the people should be mobilized. Hence we must, he said, direct the strength of everybody, including mothers, women and the young to the struggle for the preservation and development of everything we have achieved, of everything we have today and of everything which represents our future. Siroka pointed out, in particular, the need for a commitment to the schools and to the sphere of education as a whole, where the enemy has inflicted the greatest damage.

Kolj Siroka observed that the enemy was going back to his initial slogans because his strategy was calculated on placing us into a defensive position. However, it is known that we can win this battle only by being on the offensive and that the revolution must be defended by being continually developed and by affirming Tito's road.

In the action which we are waging it is impermissible to water it down and to interpret our assessments and attitudes of enemy events in a different way and by some other kind of "research", Siroka said.

He added that at this point in time we must not look around at who is or isn't helping us, and how much, with his statements. We must not allow any modifications of the established assessment or any kind of hushing up of the real state of affairs or dressing up of the truth regardless of how brutal it might be.

Speaking about certain stands from the draft action program Kolj Siroka stressed that a special place in it should be given to the demand for a critical examination of the implementation of investment policy, which has to be in the service of faster development.

Going on to speak about the implementation of cadre policy and the principle of collective work and responsibility, he said that Kosovo communists should in no way digress from their pledge to Comrade Tito. Siroka stated that the inconsistent implementation of the initiative on collective work and responsibility led to unwanted consequences and to the imposition of the will of certain individuals who had held certain positions for years.

The draft action program, he went on, which had been prepared for today's session also contained a stance that the Kosovo League of Communists would appraise the causes of the phenomenon and the consequences of the migration into Kosovo of Albanians and members of other nations and nationalities from the surrounding areas, particularly from southern Serbia, Macedonia, Montenegro and Sandzak. Kolj Siroka believes that this orientation will not yield correct results. This is because these cannot be questions which only the League of Communists will tackle. True, Siroka stressed, the League of Communists must take the lead in this, but it is also necessary in this connection that all other sociopolitical organizations and communities, from the local community upwards should be involved.

To this Veli Deva, president of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo League of Communists, said that "this stand has been introduced in the draft action program as a result of a mistake by the working group". Demographic issues are not just problems of our environment and thus cannot be dealt with only by the Presidency and the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo League of Communists. These phenomena will be studied by organizations and institutions whose job it is to do so, said Veli Deva.

The proposed action program is a reflection of the most vital needs and interests of the province at the present moment, said Radomir Trajkovic. He particularly stressed the need for implementing consistently in cadre policy, Comrade Tito's initiative on collective work, decision-making and responsibility and stressed that claims that there were no cadres were unjustified.

The proposed action program represents a platform for an extensive action by the League of Communists and other organized socialist forces. However, in order to achieve that, said Sefcet Mustafa, we must abandon the practice of adopting and reaching conclusions and swearing by them and then continuing with the old practice. At present what is needed is not formal declarations but a concrete action in every area. We have to be constantly vigilant and cautious because the enemy does not rest. It is our obligation to explain the complexity of the political and security situation in the province, to point to the aims and methods of work of the enemy.

In assessing the causes of the hostile and counterrevolutionary activity we have correctly noted the results of objective difficulties and the consequences of subjective weaknesses, stressed Azem Vlasi. There has been a lot of talk about the usurpation of power, misuse [of power], nepotism and similar phenomena.

It is a well-known fact that the working people of Kosovo must energetically condemn the enemy activity. Because of the bitterness they feel, they sometimes put the focus of their struggle in the area of subjective weaknesses. These people, Vlasi stressed, cannot and must not be seen as enemies, although their way is not always correct for solving problems. We must struggle equally against both kinds of weaknesses, and this we have to explain to the people.

Continuing his speech, Azem Vlasi stressed that the problem of unemployment in Kosovo was so acute that all self-management organs, above all self-management interest communities for employment, should reach an agreement as soon as possible on the criteria for who is unemployed. There are people whose livelihood depends directly on their work, and there are others who are looking for work but have a house and land in their village.

Speaking about anti-Yugoslav propaganda from Albania, Azem Vlasi said that it was very perfidious and that he knew exactly at what categories of people it was aimed. Having been active for years, it has left a mark in people's consciousness, particularly in the young. For this reason the essence of certain slogans should be clearly explained. For example, with the slogan "Kosovo--a republic" it is not sufficient to say that it is counterrevolutionary and that it is aimed at threatening Yugoslavia's territorial integrity. When one takes into account the nationalist and chauvinist theses which have been put forward, it becomes clear what sort of republic is demanded, said Vlasi. Vlasi warned of the danger of parallelism in the work of sociopolitical organizations. It would be very sad, he stated, if all of us started to examine causes, endorse documents and reach conclusions in the same way. The most important thing is that we organize ourselves in such a way that we are capable of conducting actions "in the field."

Milan Seslija spoke about certain attempts to identify Kosovo just with Albanians and stressed that such identification cannot be accepted. In the present political tactical moves, responsibility cannot be shared in such a way that all are responsible but nobody answerable. We talk in principle about responsibility and ideoopolitical differentiation, even in the rank-and-file, but the action nevertheless "slips", Seslija said.

Saban Hiseni examined the problems of the media and advocated cadre and material strengthening. In his view the action program should place greater stress on the need for better organization of the information media in the province and of editorial boards from the other republics and Vojvodina, as well as for their mutual cooperation. In this connection he mentioned the isolationism of sources of information and dependence for obtaining information on individuals and institutions, and concluded that further socialization of all spheres and protagonists of public information was needed.

In Kurtes Salihu's view, the action program proposal embraced issues which are common to the majority of League of Communists' organizations. Further concrete tasks should be drawn from it, including the struggle for unity in the League of Communists, not a formal and spurious unity but action unity in which there will be no compromises. Salihu designated nationalism, intranational relations, as well as self-management as issues on which differentiation should be continued because, due to neglected self-management, ideas close to Stalinist ideas are getting through.

Salihu also stressed that greater attention should be paid to relations in the Socialist Republic of Serbia as well as to the issue of implementing the role, policy, rights and responsibilities of the province in the federation and in the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

Intranational relations must be the preoccupation of every environment, Salihu stressed. In discussing these problems one should ensure a democratic climate along with tolerance and absence of labeling, though phenomena should be called by their right names. Salihu also spoke about pooling labor and resources which, in his words, represents a Yugoslav problem. In Kosovo the pooling is mainly restricted to the framework of the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

Speaking about the public media, Salihu recalled his speech at the session of the action conference of the League of Communists of Pristina University the day before yesterday and he stressed that he spoke about many weaknesses as well as about the need for the involvement of communists. From the rostrum of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, Salihu had warned about difficulties made for the League of Communists and its struggle by public media and of wholesale assessments, such as the one made by Comrade Milan Daljevic about the university being a "fortress of Albanian nationalism." It would be easier if this were the truth because then we would concentrate all our strength on the university, but such wholesale assessments should not be made sitting in an office while drinking coffee. This is a waste of time; one should get on with the work.

In public media, Salihu said, the majority wants to help but there are also those who want to steal. One need not enter any polemics but one should direct the keen edge of action against sources of nationalism in order that it be completely eradicated.

In the same vein, when speaking about relations of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, it now seems that we should be on the defensive in order that Serbians might present their view, though the struggle should be a united one. For this reason, Salihu said, it is our assessment that there is no need to enter a polemic at the session of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee.

Nazmi Mustafa spoke about the proposed action program which lists the tasks of the League of Communists for the development of the economy in socioeconomic relations. He observed that the program raised these issues in a fairly general manner by proceeding, in all likelihood from the fact that every social subject will compile its own program of work and tasks.

A severe demarcation line should be drawn between the national and nationalism, Gazmend Zajmi said. Political maturity demands that we prevent everything which could creep in as a distorting mirror. The League of Communists practice and experience shows that it has always prevented such phenomena only through persistent struggle against all negative phenomena. The question of national affirmation is not a question of one nation only but of all of the nations together to an equal degree. It is perfectly clear that parallel with the struggle against nationalism and irredentism the struggle against other negative phenomena too must be strengthened because only in this way, Zajmi observed, will we consolidate unity on Tito's road.

Being conscious about the togetherness is much more important in this context than it would appear. Not to resolve these issues places present and future generations into an unfavorable position. What worries me not only as an Albanian communist but also as a citizen of this country, Gazmend Zajmi stressed, is the growing weakness in the knowledge of the Serbian language and the insufficient knowledge of the Albanian people by other nations and nationalities. What is at stake in our country is not linguistic tolerance as in some other countries, but mutual acquaintance and togetherness. The knowledge of languages brings people closer together and creates warm intranational relations. It is a good thing that this is also mentioned in this document, but the consciousness of it will not be developed by documents but will develop from the bottom up.

Zajmi endorsed the assessments presented in the proposed action program on the situation in the province and at the university and he expressed the conviction that the measures taken will have a mobilizing effect not merely in overcoming Albanian nationalism and irredentism but also in creating qualitatively new relations at the university.

Without entering into polemics, Gazmend Zajmi, rector of Pristina University, said that the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo can also discuss the enrollment of students. But I would like to remind you that the faculties decide on the number and structure of students, according to the laws, together with the community for education. Comrades in the Executive Council should better realize their cooperation with delegates of the University Council. We at the university are open to comments and suggestions. Nobody, Gazmend Zajmi stressed, should be oversensitive.

Commenting on the speculations about the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins, Dragan Markovic stressed that in the Prizren municipality no such cases were registered and neither were there any cases of pressure on the nationalist basis. Markovic went on to state his conviction that the League of Communists would assess the results of the census in a comprehensive, analytical and objective way, and agree on appropriate tasks.

Dzavid Nimani first stressed that when the draft action program of activity of the Kosovo League of Communists was being worked out, the starting point was the request that all sociopolitical organizations, organs and collectives, on the level of the province and in municipalities and all environments, should have their own action programs. He advocated a consistent implementation of this program and said that no loopholes should be left which could water down the action in the struggle against Albanian nationalism and irredentism and hostile activity.

We should not preoccupy ourselves with what has been said by various newspapers, or what has been said in one environment or another or by this or that individual. We should not exchange one thing for another or compare them, thus bringing into question decisions and stands of the Provincial Committee, Central Committee of the Serbian League of Communists and Yugoslavia.

We must not allow the basic action of the struggle against nationalism and irredentism to be weakened in this way. Neither should we allow weakening of action on eliminating all those weaknesses and mistakes which aided the enemy in seducing a number of young people and workers. In the course of implementing the program we will adopt, no attempts should be allowed which are aimed at blunting the edge of political and other actions. In this action there should be no room for waverers and those who think that merely by stating one's views and without concrete involvement, problems we face can be solved. We have to do our utmost to see that ideological differentiation, already begun, should be concluded, so that the League of Communists can rid itself of members who do not have a place in its ranks. This activity will not be easy, but we have clear stands and we have to implement them consistently, Dzavid Nimani stressed.

He went on to state that the activity of the Kosovo League of Communists over the past 2 months was very dynamic but that the same could not be said of the Socialist Alliance, youth and other sociopolitical organizations.

Dzavid Nimani said that it is necessary to mobilize all the forces of the front of organized socialist forces and to act without interruption, waiting and wavering on the wide front of activity. We must make a special effort to completely unmask the nationalist and irredentist ideology, to strengthen brotherhood, unity and togetherness and establish Yugoslav socialist patriotism among the young.

Parallel with this we must struggle against all forms of etatism and careerism, the majority [Albanian majority rule] and other negative phenomena, which hamper the development of self-management. All organized socialist forces and all subjects should be included in this struggle. In our overall activity we must also thoroughly unmask the slogan "Kosovo--a republic," not only by explaining that this is a hostile slogan but also by providing an explanation of the essence of the province's position within the framework of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the federation.

Sinan Hasani stressed that in the action program attention should be paid to weaknesses in the League of Communists leadership at all levels, as well as to the organization and cadre strengthening of the League of Communists. In this connection, he said this problem should not be limited only to those organizations in which hostile activity was openly displayed, because the fact that in some places there were no actions of this kind did not mean that the situation was good. Hasani also stressed that the so-called deceived people, those who were passive and other similar people represented a special problem. For this reason program criteria should be worked out for a concrete method of action in these situations. Hasani paid special attention to cases of unprincipled behavior, stating that the problem could not be reduced to personal discussions, since they also involve forums and demand that they too should state their view so that there are no mistakes.

Guidelines from the action program have great significance for the united action of the League of Communists, said Dusan Ristic. The question, however, is raised whether our activity is going in the direction of overcoming the present situation, since there are still League of Communist members and cadres who are not sufficiently involved, who view the problems with the old logic, believing that the simple reorientation of views and methods of work is also sufficient in this case. The program is oriented toward the needs of the moment and is not a continuation of what has been going on up to now, said Ristic.

Action, he added, must be decisive, since in recent times a tendency has become apparent which does not go in the direction of solving problems. We are the ones most responsible for the political situation in Kosovo, said Ristic, warning that there was also a limit to which one could be patient and await decisive action by the Kosovo League of Communists--the kind of action that always used to be called for in difficult situations. It is, therefore, impossible to accept views which look for justifications instead of offering solutions. In this connection the action program should be seen as a turning point. It is not enough merely to state one's views and condemn counterrevolutionary activity; what to do should also be stated. We must not be silent. We must be sensitive about that as well as about those who do not want to help. However, Ristic said we must not be oversensitive if someone criticizes us, since we do not need to put out a fire but to overcome hostile forces. [sentence as received]

Speaking about weaknesses in the media, Ristic stressed that they were a reflection of those same weaknesses in the League of Communists and that the struggle for overcoming them was the obligation of all communists equally, regardless of where they worked. In connection with the problem of the exodus from Kosovo, Ristic stressed that this phenomenon could be countered only by safeguarding the security of people where they lived and worked by waging a struggle against the enemy and alien phenomena.

It is bad, in his words, if one insists that the phenomenon of exodus does not exist, if one becomes overly sensitive to this issue, because one should, above all, bear in mind the fact that the only thing which is real is life.

In conclusion, Ristic proposed that the action program should single out the priority tasks for all organs and organizations in order that they might not work in the old way. If this is the case then it will be others who will work and we will only be doing the criticizing, Ristic said.

The assessment of all of us is that the political situation in Kosovo continues to be complex and encumbered by many problems, Veli Deva, president of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo League of Communists, said at the end of the session. After all, such assessments are reaching us from all work organizations, local communities, both large and small, and developed and underdeveloped municipalities. The fact is, he said, that the enemy continues with his activity, only in different forms; that the propaganda by both domestic and foreign enemies is present; and that we have to deal with the grave consequences left behind by the enemy and counterrevolutionary demonstrations in Kosovo.

Due to all this, the basic task of the Kosovo League of Communists is to pull the province out of this situation, that is, to normalize life in Kosovo, and in every school, work organization, village and town. Our action program, Veli Deva stressed, has precisely this goal. Kosovo communists, in his assessment, have carried out significant work during this time.

They fought selflessly in every environment. The fruits of this ideopolitical struggle are today not very visible. That is, they are not in relation to the effort invested. This is understandable. The escalation of Albanian nationalism and irredentism cannot be combatted in 2 months. This is too short a time for a deeper ideopolitical battle.

True enough, no single element gives us the right to be proud today. But, in the same vein, Veli Deva stressed, we cannot say that they are right who consciously close their eyes to our struggle. Of course, Veli Deva recalled, there are environments, and we do not hide this, in which a resolute ideopolitical battle has not yet been embarked upon, in which communists behave one way when they are attending sessions, and differently while at their places of work, where they live and act as party members. I am convinced, Veli Deva said, that our action program, that is, its consistent implementation, will in many respects correct this situation. We must not, therefore, allow everybody to adopt his own program so that this activity should last unjustifiably long. We must stop concerning ourselves with papers. What is fundamental is that we resolve problems where they emerge because no single program can embrace all issues which are inherent in life.

What is necessary for the political stabilization in Kosovo is cadre, organizational and self-managing stabilization and every other kind of stabilization. The prerequisite for this, Veli Deva reminded those present, is "deep digging" in investigating all the causes which disrupt our action.

We must be aware of the fact that we shall win no battle if we do not win the battle against nationalism. It is, therefore, both incomprehensible and impermissible that the champions of the ideological front in some environments are opportunists who find it difficult to wage the battle against nationalism in their nation and they, therefore, embark upon the struggle against "alien" types of nationalism. Kosovo communists see such types of behavior as an attempt to water down the ideological struggle and to weaken the League of Communists front.

In this struggle, Veli Deva stressed, we must invest maximum efforts. This is the requirement for total victory. We must act among broad popular masses, not spontaneously but in a very organized manner. We have nothing to hide.

This is not a matter for the League of Communists only but for every citizen. What is at stake is neither a leftwing or rightwing faction inside the party but an enemy who has tried, and is still trying, to threaten the basic gains of our revolution and our strategic goals.

We have no reason to hide anything at all, all the more so as we have received backing from all progressive people. We shall not, Veli Deva stressed, withdraw into forums and party organizations because the battle is fought "at the bottom". We have not one young man whom we would give to the enemy as a gift. We must bring back young people, to the last man, to our ranks, explain to them the real essence and aim of the enemy activity and pull them "out of that delirium."

At the end of the session, members of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo League of Communists adopted the proposed action program, the final version of which will be compiled on the basis of today's proposals and suggestions. The program will be adopted by the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo League of Communists on the basis of the authority of the Provincial Committee.

Proposed Action Program

LD231958 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 23 May 81

[Text] Pristina, 23 May (TANJUG)--A whole series of comments and suggestions were made to the text of the proposed action program of the Kosovo League of Communists in the extensive debate at today's session of the Provincial Committee. The proposed program emphasizes the job of the Kosovo League of Communists to direct its ideopolitical activity first and foremost at the ideopolitical exposure of the reactionary content of Albanian nationalism and irredentism and at the discovery and exposure of counterrevolutionary forces who act from these positions. The League of Communists will critically analyze its weaknesses which have been manifested by a lack of vigilance, opportunism, a wavering and passive attitude and will stimulate the process of ideopolitical differentiation in every environment and at every level.

One of the particularly significant tasks is the detailed and critical examination of the situation in the ideopolitical training and Marxist education in the League of Communists. It is proposed that starting next year, League of Communists political schools will be organized at the university and all secondary schools.

The proposed action program insists on quicker changes in the content and method of activity by municipal League of Communists conferences and says that this demand refers particularly to the League of Communists organizations in the municipalities of Pristina, Podujevo, Lipluan, Urosevac, Suva Reka, Decane, Glogovac, Kacanik, Istok and Vitina.

Turning to the political action aimed at overcoming the situation created by enemy activity, the proposed action program says that the critical and self-critical attitude of all cadres and members of the League of Communists must be ensured as must be the freeing of the party from all who behave inconsistently, complacently, and in an opportunistic, cominformistic and liberal manner.

A special chapter of the proposed document discussed at today's session refers to the tasks regarding intranational relations. Having noted that despite clear ideopolitical orientations concerning intranational relations in the practical implementation of this policy there have been numerous weaknesses, the proposed action program stresses that the Kosovo League of Communists must pay special attention to the joining of class and national interests in this area.

What is of greatest significance is the continuous, concrete and deliberate education of the children and the young people in the spirit of the most glorious achievements of the national liberation struggle and socialist revolution, their rapprochement, unity, brotherhood and mutual trust through joint activities, from preschool institutions right up to faculties.

Special attention will also be paid to the decisive, uncompromising and concrete struggle against Albanian nationalism and irredentism as well as against any other kind of nationalism and to further deepen the democratic atmosphere for open, substantive and comprehensive debates on all issues concerning the practical implementation of the policy of intranational relations.

This part of the program says among other things that the question of the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo should be assessed and analyzed as soon as possible and in this connection concrete tasks determined.

The program then goes on to point out the need for a critical reexamination of the situation in the cadre policy and the need to strengthen the cadre of the organs of the municipal League of Communists organizations as well as of the Kosovo League of Communists organs, organs of sociopolitical organizations and organs of power in the municipalities and in the province.

The tasks in the material development and in the sphere of socioeconomic relations are also designated as exceptionally significant in the proposed program. The action by the League of Communists and other organized socialist forces of Kosovo will be directed at a rational and efficient use of all resources intended for the development of the province, at determining investment possibilities in projects which will enhance employment opportunities as well as at a quicker change in the economic structure by building processing capacities. Measures will be taken against irresponsible behavior by certain individuals which contribute to bad designing and nonrational investments and accountability meausres will be initiated to determine excesses in investments. Regarding political action, as the proposed program says, particular attention must be devoted to the further development of socialist, self-managing, socioeconomic relations so that the concrete causes for the slowdowns in the pooling of labor and resources as well as measures to overcome such situations will be established.

The document goes on to stress that the Kosovo League of Communists must work to consistently implement the constitutional provisions. Ideopolitical activity must be particularly directed at harmonizing relations in the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

The most extensive chapter of the proposed action program deals with the tasks in the areas of education, science and culture. It discusses the need for a critical analysis of the hitherto intensive development of specialized education and training as well as the existing structures of the faculties and higher schools. It stresses that concrete measures will be taken for their restructuring, consolidation and location. The League of Communists and the relevant organs of the municipality and of the province should critically assess the omissions and weaknesses of the cadre policy in education, particularly at university and secondary schools. Measures must be taken to eliminate the monopoly phenomen on and other weaknesses in the cadre policy, and in the election and training of cadres. The ideological foundations of textbooks and other literature should be analyzed as soon as possible and the contents which had been conducive to nationalistic and irredentist consciousness removed from them. From the ideopolitical and educational-pedagogical aspect there should be an extremely critical analysis of the contents of textbooks from Albania.

The Provincial Community for Scientific Work, the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Kosovo, the Institute for History, the Albanological Institute and other scientific institutions must critically analyze the social effectiveness of scientific research projects, in particular of those concerning social and cultural-historical sciences. It is also necessary to examine the structure of specialized education, of dissertations for the degrees of Master of Arts and Doctorate and assess how much they serve a more rapid development of the economy and of society as a whole.

The proposed action program notes that public information media in the province have not successfully implemented their role as a significant factor in forming socialist self-managing and public opinion and that they have not sufficiently served League of Communists actions. Therefore, in future activity, it should be ensured that subjective forces, above all the League of Communists in public information collectives, fight decisively against nationalistic phenomena, against bourgeois, dogmatic, technobureaucratic tendencies and types of behavior as well as against other hostile reactionary and counterrevolutionary forces, against their ideological, dogmatic-Stalinist, nationalistic and irredentist platform.

At the end of the proposed action program there is reference to the all-people's defense and social self-protection and the program insists that the assessment of the political security situation be critical, specific and realistic. In this context the sources threatening the political and security situation and possible hotbeds of crises should be examined. It is necessary to intensify League of Communists activity concerned with the further development and complementing of the system of social self-protection in local communities, work organizations, schools, at faculties, in school children's and students' residence halls, in the villages and in particular in the towns.

The training of internal affairs and state security organs is a topical issue to which League of Communists organs and other organs in the province and in the municipalities should pay particular attention. In this context what is particularly significant is cadre and professional training, equipping with modern means and technology and numerical and organizational strengthening of these organs in all municipalities in the province, the document says in conclusion. Its final text, as decided at the session of the Provincial Committee, will be approved by the Provincial Committee Presidium of the Kosovo League of Communists on the basis of suggestions made at today's broad discussion.

Conclusion of Session

LD232334 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1750 GMT 23 May 81

[Text] Pristina, 23 May (TANJUG)--After a very exhaustive discussion which went on for 8 hours and in which 23 members of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo League of Communists took part, the session of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo League of Communists ended in Pristina this evening. The session adopted the action program of the Kosovo League of Communists for the period until the 13th conference of communists of this province.

The final text of this document will be worked out on the basis of today's comments and suggestions and will be adopted by the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo League of Communists on the authority of the Provincial Committee.

All participants in the discussion agreed that the communists of Kosovo are waging a decisive struggle in unmasking the enemy and creating conditions for the normalization of life in the province.

The session said that the program should intensify even more this activity and contribute to the ideopolitical differentiation in the Kosovo League of Communists.

LJUBICIC GREETS ARMED FORCES ON YOUTH DAY

LD231836 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1419 GMT 23 May 81

[Text] Belgrade, 23 May (TANJUG)--On the occasion of Youth Day, Army General Nilola Ljubicic, federal secretary for national defense, sent the following message of congratulations to soldiers, sailors, cadets and junior officers:

I congratulate you on 25 May, Youth Day, and send you the most cordial greetings with the wish that you should achieve even greater results in strengthening combat readiness and the moral-political unity of our armed forces.

You young people in the army, together with the youth from our entire country, mark your holiday this year without your dearest comrade, teacher and supreme commander, Comrade Tito. We are without Tito, but as you so nicely put it, we are with Tito in our hearts, thoughts and deeds.

With their revolutionary zeal, creativity and self-sacrifice, the young have always justified Tito's enormous trust in them. At all stages of our socialist revolution and in all crucial moments of the recent history of our nations and nationalities, the young have been the reliable support for our party and our working class in the struggle for socialist social relations, for the affirmation of the role of direct producers in all spheres of social work and decision-making and for preservation of freedom, independence and the territorial integrity of our country.

The young generation has a great role to play today as well. It has the responsibility and obligation to safeguard the heritage of our revolution and to develop it further. In this connection, as Comrade Tito always used to stress, we have to safeguard the brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities as our most precious possession, since that is the source of our strength and victories.

Young comrades in the Armed Forces, we mark Youth Day in the year of the great jubilees of our revolution: the 40th anniversary of the uprising of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia and four decades since the creation and the development of Tito's People's Army. Let these jubilees be an inspiration to you in the further struggle for the preservation of freedom, independence and the territorial integrity of our country, in the struggle for socialist self-management and for achieving even greater successes in acquiring new knowledge and expanding the existing expert and ideological-political knowledge necessary for the formation of an all-round, courageous and humane socialist personality.

You young comrades have achieved great results in this to date. They should be an impetus to you to work with even greater devotion and to achieve even more in this and all other spheres of your activity. Our society demands from us all constant vigilance and readiness to resist resolutely every attack on our country's freedom and independence.

I congratulate you once again on Youth Day and wish you to continue to achieve great results in your everyday life and work in the Armed Forces.

CULAFIC ELECTED LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARY

LD251856 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1731 GMT 25 May 81

[Text] Belgrade—The Presidium of the LCY Central Committee held a session in Belgrade today. On the basis of its order on theorganization and method of work the Presidium elected Dobroslav Culafic secretary of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee.

The Presidium expressed recognition and gratitude to Dusan Dragosavac for having successfully carried out the function of the secretary of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee for the past 2 years.

DORONJSKI ADMITTED TO HOSPITAL FOR SURGERY

AU251117 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 25 May 81

[Text] Last week Stevan Doronjski, member of the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium, was admitted to the surgical clinic of the Military Medical Academy in Belgrade for treatment. Surgery on his liver has been carried out, it was announced in Belgrade today.

TANJUG CITES TASS ON POLISH 'REVISIONIST ELEMENTS'

LD222224 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2106 GMT 22 May 81

[Text] Moscow, 22 May (TANJUG)--The Soviet news agency TASS today presents an expressly negative picture of the political and economic situation in Poland. The Soviet press reports on Poland have for several days been describing the situation in that country as extremely difficult and prospectless.

The main target of the Soviet press criticism is the trade union Solidarity. However, recently and in the TASS commentary today, the criticism is also aimed at the "revived revisionist elements" in the Polish party.

The Soviet news agency claims that these forces are aiming prior to the special PUWP congress to (?impose resolutions) as would give the party "social-democratic or other orientation".

It is noticeable that the Soviet news media are seeking to reduce Solidarity's role to activities customary for trade unions in East European countries.

It is suggested in the reports from Poland that the forces considered by the Soviet Union as "anti-socialist and counterrevolutionary" should be prevented from acting.

However, TASS says today that the Polish communists are doing much to stabilise the situation and defend the country's socialist course of development.

DJURANOVIC RECEIVES AGRICULTURE SECRETARY BLOCK

LD252324 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1351 GMT 25 May 81

[Text] [No dateline received] Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council received John Block, U.S. secretary of agriculture, in Novi Sad today. During the conversation, which took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, it was noted with satisfaction that friendly relations and cooperation between Yugoslavia and the United States are developing positively. Particular emphasis was placed on the contribution which cooperation in the sphere of agriculture is making to the development of these relations.

During the conversation, the president of the Federal Executive Council emphasized the significance of both sides making efforts to resolve the problem of the high Yugoslav deficit in trade with the United States, which is a serious burden to economic cooperation between the two countries. The American secretary agreed with this. There was also discussion on issues of interest to both countries in the sphere of international economic relations, particularly from the point of view of resolving the serious problems burdening the developing countries.

Nikola Kmezic, president of the Executive Council of Vojvodina, and Milovan Zidar, president of the Federal Committee for Agriculture, also took part in the conversation.